

FORUM

A Protest . . . Sherwood Anderson

Recovery; For Whom? . . . Eugene Forsey

Vested Interests and the Church . . . V. F. Calverton

The C.C.F.'s Opportunity . . . Editorial

Quebec Labor Laws . . . J. A. P. Haydon

Steel; The C.I.O. and Reaction . . . Mark Farrell

BOOK REVIEWS

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Quebec Swings to the Extreme Left

J. A. P. Haydon

Chilled Steel—The C.I.O. and Reaction

Mark Farrell

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Robert Leggett

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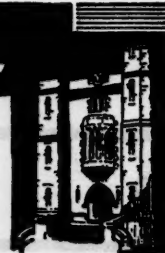
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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Is War Coming?

MR. KING issued a statement on his return from London and Berlin expressing his profound conviction that war in Europe is not imminent. Apparently the only war which causes him concern is the imminent one with Herr Hepburn, about which he did not issue a statement. People who are old enough to remember what they were reading in the papers during the years 1912-14 (after the serious war scare of 1911) may recall the number of statements by authoritative persons as to the improved atmosphere in international affairs. And our historians today with all the documents before them agree that the atmosphere was improved in that period. Nevertheless the war came at the end of July in 1914. We should be more encouraged by Mr. King's optimism if he could report a single government in Europe which has decided to reduce its armaments expenditure. As long as they all continue to pay ever higher insurance against the disaster of defeat in a war, we shall continue to disbelieve the assurances of European statesmen that war is becoming more unlikely. Every major government in Europe is playing a dangerous game of bluff and pressure in which each government must seem to its own people to be winning most of the time. The German and Italian governments especially cannot afford to seem to be losing, although there appears to be no limit to the humiliations that Mr. Anthony Eden can undergo. Sooner or later there will arise a situation (or one of the governments will create a situation, as Hitler and Goering did in the case of the Leipzig) in which some government cannot let its bluff be called because the stakes are too high; and then we shall have the Serajevo crisis over again. No leader in Europe is doing anything to remove the fundamental causes out of which the danger of war arises. They all want peace but each one also wants some things which he cannot get without fighting or threatening to fight.

Mr. Dafoe's Foreign Policy

MR. J. W. DAFOE has achieved a position of leadership in Canadian public life because of his habit, so different from that of most Canadian journalists, of saying what he means, and his avoidance of that type of writing which consists in saying nothing at all or in hinting at something which the writer is afraid to say openly. His notable paper at the Kingston Conference on Canadian-American relations (printed in the Free Press of June 18) is marked by the characteristic Dafoe virtues—up to a point. He shows very clearly the hollowness of Mr. King's pretense that he is preserving national unity on foreign policy by side-stepping discussion of the real issues and assuring us that "parliament will decide." All that Mr. King is doing is to encourage us to shut our eyes to the hard fact that there is no unity in Canada about foreign policy and to let us drift without enlightenment until some dangerous crisis blows up. The King policy of drift is based on the hope that the crisis will not blow up, or at least not in his time. Mr. Dafoe is rightly somewhat indignant at so-called leadership of this kind.

But if Mr. King is without a foreign policy, what is Mr. Dafoe's policy? He now sorrowfully admits that to talk of a League of Nations policy is largely academic (though he continues to talk of it). Canada has only two choices; she must go imperialist or isolationist. And Mr. Dafoe's Kingston address makes one suspect that he is preparing to go imperialist. He cannot resist a slight note of moral scorn getting into his voice when he mentions the isolationists. He is looking forward to a war for democracy in Europe again. And the note of moral duty begins to sound in his utterances. Of course, when we join in this new war for democracy, we shall do it in all the majesty of our new national status which Mr. Dafoe helped to achieve for us. And there will be magnificent editorials in the Winnipeg Free Press about our indignant repudiation of any policy of imperial centralization. But if we are always to join in when England gives the signal, isn't there a good deal of

eyewash in that boasted national status of ours? English political leaders are showing that they know that it is mostly eyewash and that with a little patience and a good deal of flattery they can get us to do what they want.

To say that we must wait for the event and decide in the light of all the circumstances at the time is to do precisely what Mr. Dafoe criticizes Mr. King for doing. We can be reasonably sure now of what the nature of the event will be. The present British Government has made it abundantly clear that it will never follow a genuine League policy or fight for collective security. But it is getting ready to fight for the imperial interests of the British governing classes. It will be a war for these purposes that we shall be invited to join. In so far as Britain is concerned, that is the only kind of war that is coming. Is Mr. Dafoe prepared to join in this kind of war? Of course it will be camouflaged as a war for democracy. But no intelligent Canadian needs to wait until the crisis breaks to make up his mind whether he is going to accept this camouflage. If we have done Mr. Dafoe an injustice in these remarks, will he please tell us some day in the *Free Press* just what will be the circumstances in which he is prepared to follow the Chamberlain Government into another war?

That Royal Commission

MR. KING is expected shortly to announce the personnel of the Royal Commission which is to investigate the financial relations of Dominion and provincial governments in our Confederation. Royal Commissions appear to have become in this country a regular, and expensive, part of the hocus pocus by which governmental policies are made acceptable to public opinion. In spite of impressive arrays of learned counsel and self-important economists, they seldom function to bring to light new information or understanding. Sometimes they are appointed merely to lend prestige to a decision which the government has already taken—as the Macmillan Commission which recommended the setting up of a central bank (and for prestige purposes it is advisable to import an Englishman). Sometimes they are appointed to find excuses for a bargain already made by the government—as the present Turgeon Commission on wheat, whose purpose it to sugar-coat for prairie consumption the alliance between the Liberal party and the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. Sometimes they are appointed to make tolerable some bit of blackmail which has been forced upon the government by political exigencies—as the various Commissions which have devised

reasons for increasing the subsidies paid to Maritime or Prairie governments. Sometimes there is a slip-up in the arrangements, as in the case of the Aird Commission which was meant to prepare the way for presenting control of the air to the Bell Telephone, the C.P.R., and their friends, but which unexpectedly recommended nationalization of radio; or the Duff Commission which discovered on consideration that it would be politically too dangerous to hand over the national railways to Sir Edward Beatty, and recommended a compromise. And sometimes they are appointed simply to stave off the necessity for making any real decision.

Debtors and Creditors

WE SUSPECT that the present Commission is meant chiefly as an escape mechanism. No real solution of Dominion-provincial financial relations is possible without a fairly radical readjustment of the functions entrusted to the respective governments. But the King government, which lives in terror of the "provincial rights" cries that it has done so much to encourage in the past, cannot consider any taking over of the expensive social services from the provinces or any movement towards "centralization". So the Commission will do some tinkering with the machinery which will last till after the next election. There is one side of its activities which will bear close watching. It has been greatly advertized in all the journals which are the mouthpieces of big business as the only method of finding a solution of the question of provincial debts. What these worthies want is some device which will ensure that the bankrupt provinces continue to meet their debt obligations. No doubt some such device will be the main preoccupation of the Commissioners. That is, their main preoccupation will be the finding of means by which taxpayers may be induced to keep up the income of investors. Behind the difficulties of Dominion and Provincial governments with one another lies a struggle of interest between the debtor and the creditor groups in the country. Our present economic system functions so as to concentrate wealth in Toronto and Montreal. The controllers of this wealth well understand that the prime purpose of our political system from their point of view is to maintain the security of this concentration of wealth. And no doubt they will succeed in their desires through appeals to the sanctity of the Confederation pact and so forth. Certainly they will succeed until the other groups in our society get as clear an understanding of the connection of politics and economics as is possessed by the gentlemen with offices on St. James Street and King Street.

Three Ways of Reducing Relief Totals

SINCE about the middle of May, the Quebec government has been giving as a "foretaste of our future feast" in methods of reducing relief rolls. Originally the province ordered the city Relief Commission to strike off its lists: (1) all single women (on the ground that their parents are responsible for their maintenance), (2) "abandoned women", that is women who have been deserted, or separated women who cannot produce a legal judgment prior to December 1933, and separated women who have a maintenance order, (even if uncollectible), (3) unmarried mothers with one child, (on the ground that they should return to their parents' home), (4) old age pensioners, even with non-pensionable dependents, (5) widows with young children (on the ground that on January 1, 1938 they would come under the new Mothers' Allowance Act), (6) wives of men in prisons, in mental hospitals, or hospitals for the incurable, (7) men who have been out of town for a short time and cannot get their identity card again, (8) families whose head has left town to look for work, (9) families whose head goes to military training camp, (10) cases where the head of the family is ill, (11) cases where the wife works, not being the head of the family, (12) longshoremen, (13) cases of concubinage, (14) insanitary dwelling cases, (15) partial employment cases, (16) cases where a married couple have not jointly signed the register, and a considerable number of others. Categories 3, 5 and 6 have been restored to the lists by the city; as to the others, the Relief Commission is still awaiting instructions. The Montreal branch of the Canadian Association of Social Workers, the Montreal Women's Club, the various charitable federations and le Soleil, of Quebec, have all remonstrated against certain of the government's decisions, but without apparent effect. Meanwhile, Verdun is forcing its relief recipients to do work for whatever they get, and the provincial Minister of Labour announces that he hopes to extend this system to most of the municipalities. There are charges, hotly denied, that the amount of work demanded is excessive. In Winnipeg, the bank is refusing further relief loans to the city, the province says it can do no more, and rumour has it that the Dominion government takes the same stand. It looks as if a good time will be had by all, except the unemployed or the Winnipeg taxpayers.

Editor's Note—After the forms containing J. A. P. Haydon's article had gone to press the question arose in the editor's mind whether the significance of the satirical title: "Quebec Swings to the Extreme Left" might be misunderstood. A perusal of the article, however, should convince the reader that Quebec has, in fact, swung well in the opposite direction.

Whither Youth?

THE RECENT MEETING in Montreal of The Canadian Congress of Youth was a notable event. The Youth Congress movement is intended to bring together all youth organizations. It is an excellent thing that the youth of various political, religious and other movements should meet in congress and get to know one another; French and English delegates met her for the first time. As a correspondent writes: "For many people, Communists are no longer bomb-throwing foreigners or socialists strange visionaries. No longer will it be possible for the English members to think of French Canadians as a solidly reactionary group of anti-English Separatists with Fascist leanings. Nor will the French delegates find it easy to think of the English Canadians as rabid imperialists or violent radicals." This is all to the good, and specific resolutions commending collective bargaining, "the proposed legislation at present known as Bill 62," as well as resolutions calling for better social standards, prevention of social diseases, etc., are all very welcome.

But unanimity is often purchased at the cost of clarity. On this occasion the French Canadians only remained after the congress had passed certain conditional resolutions, which included the assertion of "the right of individuals to private property" and a condemnation of "subversive elements." Did private property here include banks and railways? And surely in one sense no socialist can be anything but a subversive element (not to mention Communists). Unanimity thus secured leads to vague resolutions, unreliable as a basis for action, since action, to be effective, must be on specific issues. To vote that "Canada must maintain complete independence of action in the field of foreign policy." and then to proceed to uphold a system of collective security is very confusing.

Any occasion that brings youth together and diminishes misunderstandings is to be welcomed. The danger lies in thinking that youth can find any effective basis of agreement that will lead to common action, except on a very few points where the interest of youth is specifically involved as such. Also, the age limit of these youth organizations is much too high. One fears that men and women, young but no longer youths, who are badly needed to energize the political parties of their elders, may allow too much of their energies to be deflected into these more spectacular but less effective channels.

The article on John Dos Passos published last month was written by Leslie Dae Lindau, instructor in English at the Colorado State College of Education, and not by G. W. Harper. We wish to apologize to Mr. Lindau for this unfortunate error.

The C.C.F.'s Opportunity

THE ANNUAL conference of the CCF, which is to be held in Winnipeg at the end of July does not promise any very spectacular events. But it comes at a critical stage in the movement's history. That tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune is now beginning to roll in for the CCF. If the CCF cannot take advantage of its opportunity within the next year or two years it will probably have no future in Canadian politics.

Since it was launched in 1932 the CCF has been fighting a slow uphill battle. At first there seemed a chance that it might gather into its ranks all the forces of vague emotional discontent which had been stirred up by the depression. This would have made it a purely demagogic movement, and it was probably fortunate to escape such an early success. A left-wing movement which is to take permanent root in this country must be firmly based upon class and group organizations in the economic field. The CCF had such a basis in the prairie farmer organizations, but the wheat farmer has taken such a licking during the last half dozen years because of the drought and of low world prices that this nucleus of support was not of much use to the CCF as a national political movement. What it lacked most clearly was an organized labor movement in the industrial parts of Canada. Canadian trade unionism was weak beyond that of any other industrial community and it was almost entirely without political consciousness. Nor was there a consumers' movement in Canada which counted for anything.

In such circumstances the CCF could not do much to dislodge the two old nineteenth-century parties. They still posed with some plausibility as representing all classes of the community, although in their actual functioning they operated simply as the tools of big business. But the ordinary Canadian, however exploited, still continued to live in happy ignorance of the fact that he had interests which were opposed to those of the business magnates who controlled his schools and his newspapers and taught him that here in Canada we enjoy a classless society.

Now at long last all that has been changed. As usual we follow in the path of the United States. American labor is awakening to a sense of its own solidarity and the great mass industries are being swept by a movement of unionization. The new unions mark a clear break from the old A.F. of L. unions not merely because their organization is based upon industrial rather than craft lines but also because they start with a political program. The C.I.O. openly supported Roosevelt in the last

election and in 1940 it will probably be part of a farmer-labor political party or federation. The Republican party is on the way out, and the Democrats are breaking up into supporters and opponents of Roosevelt's program. Whoever the exponent of a Rooseveltian program may be in 1940, he will hardly be running as a Democrat. The days of the domination of politics by the two old middle-class parties are ended.

What makes the American situation specially obscure is that the unrest accompanying labor's achievement of its place in the sun is causing a great deal of alarm not merely among the economic royalists but among the ordinary middle-class citizens who are accustomed to think of themselves as the typical Americans. Their fears of a Lewis dictatorship are being skilfully played up by nine-tenths of the American press; their longing for security, their fear of the high prices which will be attributed to high wages, their small-town nativist prejudices against the newer racial stocks, are being exploited by skilful propagandists in the newspapers, on the air, in the after-lunch service-club speeches. There are present in the United States all the elements of a sinister fascist reaction in which the middle-classes will be roused to act as the dupes of monopoly-capitalism just as has happened in so many continental European countries. The hopeful feature is their proved immunity to newspaper propaganda as instanced by their refusal to follow the newspapers in the last election.

The course of events in the United States will certainly profoundly influence us in Canada. At present it is evident that the Canadian people are in process of making up their minds on their future political alignments not from study of what is going on in Canada but from what they can learn about the struggle between the C.I.O. and its opponents south of the line. In spite of the vicious propaganda of such sheets as the *Toronto Globe and Mail* there is, one would judge, a fairly general realization that violence in the United States occurs not on the initiative of the CIO, but because of the deliberate appeal to force by some of the American employers in face of their Wagner Act which requires collective bargaining in good faith. But no one can be sure as to what the ordinary Canadian is thinking at this moment. What he will think a year or two years from now depends mainly upon what happens in the United States, but also upon the skill with which the rival Canadian political groups use their opportunities of education and propaganda.

The CCF has a two-fold task. It must help to fight against the tendencies towards a fascist reaction in Canada, and it must try to make itself the agency through which the new labor militancy which has crossed into Canada from the States eventually expresses itself in politics. In Canada as in the States the new unions will quickly find that they can protect their position only by a combination of industrial and political action. If the CCF cannot make itself the agency through which Canadian labor naturally seeks to realize its political aspirations it will not deserve to survive.

In Canada, as contrasted with the United States, we have the advantage that there is already in existence a organized farmer-labor movement with some experience behind it—the CCF. We have the disadvantage, however, that Canadian labor is much weaker than American labor on the industrial front, and that organization is much more difficult because of the division between French and English. We have the further disadvantage that potential fascism is much better organized here than anywhere in the United States because of the domination of our two chief industrial provinces by the Hepburn and Duplessis machines, the latter supported by the matchless power of the French Catholic hierarchy. Moreover there is no force or personality in Canada to be put in the anti-fascist scale which is comparable to Roosevelt.

The main thing to realize, however, is that the situation is very fluid. Historians a generation hence will demonstrate in the society of our day there was going on an inevitable evolution towards some goal of which by that time they have become conscious. But historians are only snobs who attach themselves to the successful and call them the bearers of destiny. No one today knows which of the contending forces in our society are going to be successful. Everything depends upon dynamic leadership, upon the imagination and resourcefulness with which leaders and would-be leaders make use of their opportunities. We have arrived at the stage in our social development when the gospel of the CCF fits in with the long-run interests and with the immediate tactics of those labor groups in the community who are striking their tents and are upon the march. Hitherto the CCF has often seemed to be preaching to deaf ears when it addressed labor audiences, not because its message was unsuitable but because the audience was not yet ready for the message. Labor has advanced in great strides during the last few months. If there is a sufficiently dynamic quality in the appeal which the CCF makes to the workers as well as to the farmers it can become the party of the future. This is the opportunity for which its leaders should be preparing at the Winnipeg convention.

Another Month

Mackenzie King arrives home from European trip; only tangible results are an antique chair and flowers for a herbaceous border in Ottawa. Duplessis backs up Hepburn on C.I.O. stand.

In Toronto a doctor proudly announces a cure for halitosis as social service workers estimate that there are 7,000 undernourished children in the city.

The British Empire is exposed in all its nakedness as West Indian negroes strike for 9 cents an hour, and a 48-hour week. Two cruisers rush to defend imperialist exploitation, while off the coast of Spain British ships are seized by Franco. Despite the bleatings of Anthony Eden, France withdraws non-intervention observers from her borders. The R.A.F. fly past King George VI, 250 strong in annual review at Hendon while villages on the North-West Frontier of India are heavily bombed. English clergy cash in on abdication as Rev. Jardine arrives in America on lecture tour and the Bishop of Bradford plans a trip this fall.

In France Chief of German Staff Beck visits General Gamelin, Chief of French Staff, four days later Blum is shoved out the front door to reenter by back with Camille "Stavisky" Chaumets as maitre d'hotel. In Germany, congress of historians solemnly listen to Dr. Franch, head of Institute of History of the Third Reich, explaining that Rothschild and Marx were brothers in blood and spirit. German privacy no longer exists as all house keys throughout the land are collected by the Gestapo.

In Italy, Mussolini, at request of Anthony Eden, tunes down on anti-British broadcasts from Bari as Palestine partition is promulgated amidst universal discontent. The Guadalajara defeat is explained in Mussolini's paper—the Italian sprinters were mistakenly ordered to run in the wrong direction, otherwise a great and glorious victory would have ensued. Oddly enough only Italian religious missions are to be allowed into Abyssinia.

In Spain Bilbao falls, but arms factory does not cease operating as city changes hands. Shortly afterwards German ships laden with iron ore from confiscated British mines leave for Hambourg. Successful government offensive to relieve Madrid is temporarily halted as Italian troops and German planes are shifted from Bilbao front. The Pope is accused of suggesting the annihilation of the Basques so as to rid the Spanish Government of its Catholic allies. There is no denial from the Vatican.

China refuses to kow-tow to Japan (encouraged by execution of Russian generals) when city of Peiping "Northern Peace" is scene of "incident". Chinese troops are mobilized and wait for Japan's next move, who claim that the nine-power treaty is inoperative as it is a purely local matter.

In the U.S., on the steel front, Roosevelt helpfully explains "a plague on both your houses" as he hurries off to attend his son's wedding into the international armament ring. Senator Joseph T. Robinson suddenly dies leaving the court plan without a leader in the Senate, and making way for appointment of liberal judge to the Supreme Court.

Russia captures long distance flight record but fails to reach triple century, 298 to date, in Trotskyist shootings.

Recovery---For Whom?

EUGENE FORSEY

RECOVERY is here, at least, for some people. "Of that there is no manner of doubt, no probable, possible shadow of doubt, no possible doubt whatever." There are industries which lag behind, notably agriculture, construction and the railways; but in nearly everything else, we are either approaching the 1929 level of production, or have reached it or advanced beyond it.

Apart from the improvement in the business indices, the most conspicuous feature of recovery has been its failure to make any appreciable inroad on the relief rolls. Excluding drought areas, the March figures (latest available) of persons on direct relief show a drop of 16.4 per cent. from March 1936. But the two sets of figures are not really comparable. During the year the New Brunswick government applied the Nelson touch. It now simply declines to recognize the existence of the unemployed and their dependents. By stopping payment of relief grants to the municipalities it has, as it proudly boasts, "solved" the relief problem. Direct relief recipients in New Brunswick in March 1936 numbered 62,042, in March 1937 only 7,100. It is a sort of politico-economic Christian Science. The unemployed are just not there. The municipalities, fortunately for the unemployed but very unfortunately for the rate-payers, cannot rise to such heights of faith. They, in their crude, materialistic way, feel obliged to go on paying relief; and it is driving the cities of Saint John and Moncton to the verge of bankruptcy. Allowing for this administrative change, the drop in direct relief recipients is only 12.6 per cent., and some part even of this may easily be due to administrative measures.

What is the explanation? To some extent, the unemployed who are now getting work, are those who succeeded in keeping off relief. The Montreal Protestant Employment Bureau, for instance, reports that 96 per cent. of the men and 89 per cent. of the women placed by it in the fifteen months before this spring, had never been on relief at all. To some extent, employers are meeting increased demand for their products by putting short-time workers back on full time. And the unskilled and semi-skilled (40 to 60 per cent. of those on relief) can, if they have large families to support, do better on relief than at prevailing rates of wages in unskilled or semi-skilled work.

Undoubtedly, however, one of the chief reasons why employment lags behind the increase in production is the progress in industrial technique dur-

ing the depression. In many industries, we can now produce as much as in 1929 with a considerably smaller number of workers. In 1936, manufacturing production was only 6.1 per cent. below 1929, but employment in manufacturing was 11.7 per cent. below 1929.

Figures for May, 1937 (1929 monthly average=100) show:

Physical volume of business	96.9
Manufacturing	102.9
Production of electric power	156.9
Newsprint production	127.5
Steel production	103.7
Employment, all industries	96.1
Employment in manufacturing	100.7
Employment in power	93.6
Employment in pulp and paper	99.4
Employment in iron and steel	89.1

On the other hand, automobile production in May was 71.5, while employment in the production of automobiles and parts was 107.3; and the index of production in iron and steel generally (not available for May) has been persistently above that for employment in iron and steel. For iron and steel generally and for automobile parts, the Labour Department's Reports on Hours and Wages show shorter hours in 1936 than in 1929. In these industries, therefore, the relative gain in employment may be more apparent than real: the available employment spread thin over a larger number of workers. In automobile production, however, the reverse seems to be true.

The monthly figures on this subject are, therefore, not conclusive. We have to fall back on the census of industry for 1935. The following table shows how employment lagged behind production in some industries:

Again, however, the relative gain in employment may be more apparent than real. In coal mining, for instance, the number of days' work done in 1935 was only 75.6 per cent. of the 1929 figure. For iron and steel, electrical apparatus, cottons, woollens, flour milling and furniture, the Reports on Hours and Wages and the Census of Industry indicate a good deal of short time and consequent spreading of employment. It is quite safe to say that technological progress and speed-ups form an important reason for the "hard core" of unemployment.

Clearly the unemployed are not the chief beneficiaries of recovery. That is one illustration of its class character. There is another, not less interest-

Census of Industry--1935

EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTION

(1929=100)	Production	Wage-earners
Wire and wire goods	92.2*	79.5
Oil refining	117.7 (gallons of gasoline)	87.9
	104.7 (gallons of fuel oil)	
Coal tar distillation	105.2	80.6
Paints	99.1*	87.2
Hosiery and knitted goods	99.3*	92.7
Silk and artificial silk	196.2 (lbs. thread)	
	571.1 (yds. fabric)	228.7
	304.7* (real silk price index)	
	290.2* (artificial silk price index)	86.5
Sugar	103.0 (lbs.)	86.5
Meat packing	110.0*	99.3
Canning	188.8* (vegetable price index)	84.9
	194.7* (fruit price index)	
Pulp and paper	101.5 (tons newsprint)	80.6
Rubber	81.6* (rubber price index)	59.9
	71.2* (tires price index)	
Base metal mining	72.5 (lbs.)	66.9
Boots and shoes	108.8 (pairs)	101.2
Telephones	93.5 (calls)	63.4†

*Value of net production at 1929 prices.

†Wage and salary earners.

But there were industries in 1935 which showed the opposite tendency, or where employment just about kept pace with production:

Iron and steel (except agricultural implements, automobiles and parts, boilers, tanks, engines)	49.7*	67.6
Primary iron and steel.	43.4*	82.7
	62.6 (long tons of chief products)	82.7
Cement	28.4 (bbls.)	34.9
Chemicals	95.4*	99.5
Acids, alkalis and salts, explosives, ammunition and fireworks	62.3-64.0*	79.6
Fertilizers	206.8*	347.1
Glass	52.7*	77.9
Cottons	85.5* (fabrics price index)	92.2
	86.9* (yarns price index)	91.2
Woolens	138.4*	139.8
Carpets	64.4*	81.2
Electrical apparatus	56.4*	72.5
Flour	71.6 (bbls.)	89.5
Gold mining	170.3 (fine oz.)	263.6
Furniture	61.6*	63.1
Automobiles	65.9 (number)	78.9
Coal	79.3 (tons)	91.1

*Value of net production at 1929 prices.

ing and significant—the comparisons between 1929 and 1935 dividend payments, salary bills and wage bills.

Gross dividend payments last year were over \$260,000,000, second only to the 1930 all-time record of \$280,000,000. Returns for the first seven months of 1937 suggest that gross payments for this year may be more than \$315,000,000. These figures should be used with caution, for they include a good deal of double counting (inter-company payments), but the general trend is unmistakable. The Nesbitt Thomson dividend index, for June, 1937, was 95.3 per cent. of the 1929 average and for the first six months of 1937, 91.4 per cent.; as this index excludes gold mining and almost certainly includes C.P.R. (on which there were large payments in 1929 and only small ones this year), dividends in general apart from C.P.R., are probably now back at their 1929 level. For industries with reasonably complete dividend, salary and wage figures (eliminating double counting where possible), I have calculated the following indices for 1935 (1929=100): dividends, 87.9, salary bill 88.5, wage bill 66.8; in terms of real income (i.e., allowing for the fall in prices): dividends 110.7 to 116.6 (depending on whether the retail or wholesale price index is used), salary bill 111.5, wage bill 83.5 (for salaries and wages, retail price index).

For certain individual industries, the index of real dividends in 1935 is markedly higher than that for real wage bill:

	Real dividends	Real wage bill
Power	132.1—139.1	111.7
Heavy chemicals	127.2—134.0	104.5
Glass	103.7—109.2	84.9
Electrical apparatus....	130.0—136.9	73.8
Meat packing	264.0—278.0	111.1
Tobacco	152.5—160.6	95.2
Primary textiles, hosiery and knitted goods	136.8—144.0	123.8
Gold mining	337.5—355.4	274.1
Other non-ferrous metal mining	102.3—107.7	88.5
Coal	124.1—130.6	75.8
Telephones	125.3—132.0	88.7*

*Salary and wage bill combined.

There are, of course, industries in which the dividend index in 1935 was lower than the wage bill index—iron and steel, cement, paints, oil refining (Canadian operations only), canning and brewing, and almost all the export industries. But in the export and construction industries, the explanation usually is that, once you have cut wage bill to a certain point, you can go no farther without shutting down entirely, and it then becomes necessary to make a much larger percentage cut in dividends;

and recovery in these industries has been delayed.

What emerges from this mass of statistics and many more is that the capitalist class is getting the lion's share of the new prosperity.

One might have supposed that the depression would have a chastening effect on Canadian capitalists, and that this and their recovery winnings would tend to liberalize their opinions. To some slight extent, this has happened. The more advanced among our business leaders are now talking of contributory unemployment insurance, better minimum wage laws and so forth, measures which British capitalists accepted twenty-five or thirty years ago. But, on the whole, our capitalists have forgotten nothing and learned very little since 1929, and some of what they have learned they might better have let alone. What depression and recovery alike do seem to have done to them is to destroy their old feeling of comparative security, and accordingly to stiffen their opposition to any suggestion of important social change.

Unfortunately, it is now clear that the chief social-political consequence of recovery is an intense and bitter campaign of reaction. This takes five forms, by no means unrelated to one another—first, increased armaments expenditures and postponement of further social services; second, more immigration; third, drastic relief cuts; fourth, stiff resistance to trade unionism; fifth, ruthless disregard, or, if necessary, suppression, of civil liberties.

The drive for more armaments is already on (and we are only at the beginning). The National Employment Commission's low-cost housing scheme is off. Almost any further adequate social legislation must be Dominion; the Dominion perhaps cannot, and almost certainly will not, move until the B.N.A. Act has been amended.

"When will that be?

Say the bells of Stepney.

How should I know?

Says the great bell of Bow."

Note especially the connection between the drive for armaments and the attacks on civil liberties and trade unionism. The Minister of National Defence says that the "first" reason for defence expenditures is the necessity of suppressing "subversive" movements.

The drive for immigration also is on, strenuously. It is linked with the resistance to trade unionism, and, less obviously, with the armament campaign. Not long ago, a certain imperialistic body, whose secretary rejoices in the fine old English name of Schonevegel, issued an elaborate and expensive-looking memorandum on immigration. Three pages it devotes to the Hornby scheme and the growing of sugar beets in Manitoba. The fourth page gets down to the real point, and that point is, More British

people for Canada, so that they can influence Canadian and American opinion to support the British Government! It looks as if cannon fodder is what some of these people are after. At the same time, the "Financial Post" and the Montreal "Witness" (strange bed-fellows!) tell us that we must bring in plenty of immigrants now, or the Japanese or some other land-hungry people will take our country away from us.

Relief cutting is well under way, with New Brunswick leading and Quebec and the Dominion following.

In the resistance to trade unionism, the Montreal "Gazette," the "Financial Post" and the Prime Ministers of Ontario and Quebec sing "to one clear harp in divers tones." The attitude of this section of the capitalist class seems to be: "This is our recovery, and we're not going to have organized labour 'muscling in' on it." The classic exposition of this view comes from "The Canadian Banker," January, 1937, and the "Financial Post" of March 27. "There are two dangers which we should watch in the coming year," says "The Canadian Banker." "There is the danger that the stock market should get beyond control. . . . The second danger which needs to be watched is that of rising wages. There is no more desirable event than an increase in wages, which represents an increase in the productiveness of our labour and there are, of course, many trades where wages have been abnormally depressed during the past few years and where re-adjustment is necessary and just. There is, however, a danger that we may get increases in wages in certain trades while a large number of people are still left unemployed. . . . If widespread increases in wages should come about while there still remained a solid core of unemployment in the country, we might well go through a boom period and reach another depression without having re-employed those who are now out of work. That would indeed be a national catastrophe." "The second danger is rising wages." In those immortal words we have, of course, the operative clause of the Canadian Banker's policy. It is safe to predict that the remarks on controlling the stock market will come to nothing. Observe also that there is no reference to rising dividends.

"The Financial Post's" editorial bears the characteristic title, "Wage Orgy Means Trouble Ahead."

"The emotional tides that sweep over the American people seldom leave industry or business untouched. . . . Right now U.S. industry is in the middle of a competitive effort to increase wages. . . . Canadian industry is being seriously affected by the tidal wave of wage increases. Canadian branches of American firms are being ordered to raise wages; their Canadian competitors have to follow suit to avoid criticism. Six months from now, a great many

of these wage increases will be forced through the wringer of downward adjustment."

There is a strong theoretical economic case for the view that, in any industry, a wage rate above a certain level will mean unemployment. If an employer does not find it worth his while to take on extra men at a particular rate, unemployment will result. But the whole question is, what is that level? Can we trust employers to be judges in their own cause? Need labour, anyhow, accept those limitations of capitalist economics? "The Canadian Banker" suggests that increases are justifiable in some industries. Which? Obviously, the unorganized (most Canadian industries); precisely, those which the C.I.O. is undertaking to organize. If the "Canadian Banker" is consistent, it will have to come out in support of the C.I.O. Perhaps it will offer to organize the bank clerks. Or will the president of the C.B.A. lead a sit-down strike?

The anti-union campaign inevitably involves serious inroads on civil liberties. Hitherto we have enjoyed certain liberties, largely on the tacit understanding that we should not use them to cause our masters any serious inconvenience. Sarnia, Mr. Hepburn, Mr. Duplessis, the gold mine owners, the Winnipeg fur workers' case and Mr. Elmer Davis' anti-union "pledge" show what is in store for us if the "lords of the jungle" have their way.

Recovery does not mean a breathing space during which we may relax our efforts. It means a sharpening and intensification of class conflict and of the struggle to preserve democracy. "It Can Happen Here," and it will, unless we gird ourselves to battle for our rights.

THREE SNARLS of a Disgusted Colonial

I.

Freedom, in Spain, exhaled a groan.
Her champion, England, scribbling notes,
Refused as yet to throw a stone,
And only held the stoners' coats.

II.

O Ananias! what a waste!
Iscaiot too! such gifts misplaced!
For, living now, you'd both be set
To shine in Britain's cabinet.

III.

Let Britain's leaders, if they choose,
Be cushions for Benito's hips,
And lick the heels of Adolf's shoes:
But damn them! must they smack their lips?

JOHN SMALACOMBE

Quebec Swings to the Extreme Left

J. A. P. HAYDON

TWO VICIOUS LAWS, alleged to be in the interest and for the benefit of workers, were enacted by the Duplessis government at the recent session of the Quebec provincial legislature.

They are Bill no. 55, "an act respecting workmen's wages"; and, Bill No. 209, "fair wage act".

These laws smack of fascism, or in the words of President P. M. Draper of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada they mean "Quebec is moving towards the corporate state".

"The enactment of these two laws," he added, "is the initial step toward totalitarianism and follow closely the decrees and laws governing Fascist Italy, thereby establishing a political dictatorship which all employees and employers will be forced by law to obey."

Just what are these laws?

Bill No. 55 replaces the Collective Labor Agreements Extension Act, often referred to as the Arcand Law. It vests in the government extensive powers over wages, hours and working conditions—wider than those given any government in the British Commonwealth.

An explanatory note, printed in the bill, says:

"It confers upon the Lieutenant-Governor in Council the power to enact that a collective labor agreement shall equally bind all the employees and all the employers in a determined region of the province and it grants to any party to the agreement the privilege of obtaining from the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, by means of a petition, a decree for the foregoing purposes.

"Following such decree the provisions of the collective agreement which becomes obligatory are those dealing with wages, hours of labor, apprenticeship and the proportion between the number of skilled workmen and that of apprentices in a given undertaking—and the professional employer who contracts with a sub-entrepreneur or sub-contractor, directly or through an intermediary, is subject to the decrees and becomes jointly and severally liable with such sub-entrepreneur or sub-contractor and any intermediary, for the payment of the wages fixed by the decree.

"This act, moreover, obliges the parties to a collective agreement to form a joint committee, charged with the supervising, and the ensuring of the carrying out of the decree and the said act defines the rights, privileges and obligations of the said committee."

Nowhere in the bill do the terms "trade union" or "labor organization" appear.

An "association" is defined thus:

"A professional syndicate, a union or federation of syndicates, a group of employees and employers, bona fide or possessing the status of a civil person, having as object the study, defence and development of the economic, social and moral interests of its members with respect for law and constituted authority."

Company unions might easily and no doubt will qualify under this definition.

Under the terms of the bill employers and employees, after a wage agreement has been negotiated, may, upon formal application to the government, have the same given the force of law—applying to the whole of that trade in the Province of Quebec.

But here is the rub: The government may alter its terms and may delay its enactment under Section 6, which declares:

"The minister of labor, if he deems that the provisions of the agreement have acquired a preponderant significance and importance for the establishing of conditions of labor, without serious inconvenience resulting from the competition of outside countries or the other provinces, may recommend the approval of the petition by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council with such changes as are expedient and the passing of a decree for such purpose."

The government is further authorized to alter the wage agreement to "provide for a lower remuneration for permanent employees than those fixed by the agreement."

After a wage agreement has been decreed by the government, employers and employees, party to it, "shall constitute a corporation and shall have the powers, rights and privileges appertaining to ordinary civil corporations".

This corporation or committee is given exceedingly wide powers.

"It may levy upon the professional employer alone or upon both the professional employer and the employee the sums required for the carrying out of the decree; such levying to be made subject to the following conditions:

"1. The mode and rate of the levy and the estimate of the receipts and expenses must be approved by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council:

"The latter may, at any time, repeal such approval and stop the levy:

"2. Such levy shall not exceed one-half of one per cent of the employee's remuneration, and one-

half of one per cent of the professional employer's pay list:

"3. In case of an artisan, the levy shall be based upon the wage established for the least remunerated employee:

"Require the collection by the professional employer of the levy upon the employe out of the wages which he has to pay to the latter."

This committee may also "create a board of examiners charged with determining the competency of employes".

It may further decide "that in every municipality having over five thousand souls, a certificate of competency shall be obligatory for the employes of the trade, industry, commerce or occupation contemplated by the decree".

It is provided also that "in municipalities where a certificate of competency is obligatory, no employer may utilize the services of an employe subject to the decree who has not obtained a certificate, and no such workman may, without such certificate, carry on his trade, industry, commerce or occupation, nor avail himself of any recourse provided under this act or under the decree, but every recourse at common law is open to him".

The board of examiners may charge a fee of not more than \$2.00 for the examination of a skilled workman and not more than \$1.00 for an apprentice.

Under these wide powers it is possible for the government to control and decide what form of association the worker may identify himself. The board of examiners may declare an active trade unionist incompetent and thus deprive him of his employment or force him to become associated with the kind of association the government determines in order to secure a certificate.

Despite the fact that many trade unions have a five-year apprenticeship system the law limits it to a maximum duration of four years.

The fair wage act (Bill No. 209) is designed to cover "all the employes who have not availed themselves, or who do not desire or are unable legally to avail themselves of the provisions of Bill No. 55". It excludes farm workers and domestic servants in private homes.

Its provisions are similar in most respects to those contained in Bill No. 55. It is to be administered by a board of five persons, who are given equally as wide powers as those conferred upon the joint committee under the provisions of Bill No. 55.

A section is written into the law, alleged to provide workers a measure of protection against discrimination or intimidation for joining an association of their own choice.

It provides penalties "not exceeding \$25 and costs for the first offence" and not more than \$75 for

the second offence and not more than \$100 for each subsequent offence.

But note this additional provision:

"The suit shall be brought by the Minister of Labor, by the board or by any person having a written authorization from the Attorney-General."

Under the terms of the bill it is possible for the government to maintain an espionage system, as is done in Fascist countries. Section 31 reads:

"The name of the informer shall be kept secret and no witness examined in the course of a suit brought in virtue of this act may be compelled to state that he is the informer in such suit. Nor may any question be put to him with the object of showing whether the suit was taken on a complaint by an informer, or of revealing the name of the informer."

Bills No. 55 and 209 are clearly designed to establish control within the province of labor unions of associations approved by the provincial government.

"The objective," declared President Draper, "is to supplant international trade unionism in Quebec and to set up government regimentation in its stead through committees whose findings as to hours of work, wages and all other conditions governing employment of workers will be binding."

These Quebec laws are a poor substitute for the clear-cut enactment requested by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Railroad Transportation Brotherhood under which workers would be guaranteed the legal right to join trade union and labor organizations of their own choice, without interference from the government, employes or their agents. Such laws have already been enacted in Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Alberta and members of the standard international labor organizations in Quebec will not rest until the obnoxious sections of Bills No. 55 and 209 are repealed and a law enacted granting Quebec workers the legal right to join associations of their own choice.

Organized labor, as represented by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the Railroad Transportation Brotherhoods will tolerate no dictatorship in Canada or any of its provinces whether it be from the left or the right and Quebec is no exception.



Chilled Steel---The C.I.O. and Reaction

MARK FARRELL

THE KEYNOTE of the steel strike was sounded in the opening week by Tom Girdler, president of Republic Steel when he declared: "Sure we've got guns". This was certainly true as the company had bought over 40,000 dollars of strikebreaking equipment (tear gas, etc.,) during the month of May. The violence has not yet ended as fifteen men lie dead, seven of whom were shot in the back in the Memorial Day massacre. The responsibility for the fifteen dead, the hundreds wounded, the violent feelings aroused on both sides can be fairly and squarely laid at the door of Bethlehem, Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube and Inland Steel companies when they discovered the loophole in the Wagner Act that signing an agreement was not compulsory. After Carnegie Illinois Steel and 257 other steel companies had signed agreements with the C.I.O. or S.W.O.C. covering some 400,000 workers, these four companies controlling at the most 175,000 men, intent on smashing the C.I.O. and punishing Myron C. Taylor of U.S. Steel for his "betrayal" of their interests, decided to shoot it out. For six weeks they consistently refused to mediate in any way with their striking employees.

It is obvious that their action is calculated to split the Democratic party, discredit Roosevelt, alienate all public sympathy from the C.I.O. and inevitably to stop once and for all the amazingly successful drive of John L. Lewis and his associates to organize U.S. labor into an effective bargaining and political force. In this they seem to have failed. The Paramount newsreel of the Memorial Day riot (released after pressure had been brought to bear by the La Follette Committee for Civil Liberties) should show the public at large that it is not C.I.O. lawlessness but company inspired murder that is responsible for violence and strife on the steel front. The agreement reached with Inland Steel and Youngstown Sheet & Tube has certainly broken the united front of the "hold-outs" and constitutes a tactical if pyrrhic victory for the C.I.O. Tom Girdler may still say "any discussion of the subject (signing an agreement) is futile," but the refusal to accept the Federal Mediation Committee's plan to hold a secret ballot of the steel workers for a C.I.O. union is damning evidence against any claim that it is a minority strike and should win public sympathy for the strikers.

The strikebreaking technique evolved by Remington Rand has been carefully carried out by these steel companies. First an atmosphere of violence is created, a citizens' committee is then formed, the

police are called out and finally a back to work movement is started. The denial of all civil liberties to the strikers from the very start is not generally known; they were unable to obtain any time on the radio, the local press covered their case in a "blanket of distortion", the police systematically arrested their leaders on the flimsiest of charges. In fact one striker was arrested in Youngstown for possessing a fork. The workers were thus reduced to primitive word of mouth communication.

Mary Heaton Vorse in the New Republic well describes the atmosphere existing in Youngstown at the time of the back to work movement "... their sound truck had been confiscated. Access to the radio, which all day had reported a return to work, was denied the union. The leaders were in jail. Confused and without communication with their leaders many believed that the strike was over and returned to work." Even under these circumstances reliable reporters state that the company figures are grossly exaggerated.

Our Canadian press with the notable exception of the Toronto Star, which pointed out the true facts in an editorial, have described the army of thugs, gangsters and hoodlums employed by the steel companies through strike breaking agencies, as good clean working men intent on earning an honest living whereas these "loyal employees" are engaged in the filthy trade of stealing a livelihood from men who would be men and not mere exploited puppets in the hands of Tom Girdler and his cronies. Of course it is absurd to claim that the C.I.O. and its followers have acted in a simon pure manner throughout the strikes. Violent feelings have been aroused (shooting people in the back is not conducive to friendly feelings), so much so that the C.I.O. executive has found it expedient to discipline some of the more active strike leaders. But this is industrial warfare, declared by the steel companies, aided and abetted by the civil authorities in the strike towns; excesses are natural and inevitable. It should be the duty of every liberal-minded Canadian to read the articles, that have appeared in the New Republic and The Nation in the last six weeks, see the Paramount newsreel of the Memorial Day massacre, compare these with the "objective" reporting in Time and News Week. They will then be in a position to form a fair opinion of this struggle. It is most unlikely that they will decide against the strikers. Public opinion, when they learn the facts, will inevitably support these men against the forces of reaction.

The American Church and the Vested Interests

V. F. CALVERTON

WHAT I am concerned with in this article is tracing the relationship between the vested interests and the church through several periods in American history.

It is my contention that one of the reasons that the church has lost so much of its influence today is because of the crippling effects which the vested interests have exercised over its career. As the Reverent Dr. Stelzle confesses reluctantly: "Young people the world over are identifying themselves with radical movements in the same spirit and with the same devotion that we find among missionaries who go to foreign fields . . . It is strange that the church which should offer these young crusaders the opportunity to live lives of service and devotion to a great cause is not making the slightest impression upon them." Science which has undermined the metaphysics of religion and the vested interests which have destroyed the independence of the church, have robbed organized religion of the major part of its social force and significance.

Religion in the United States has become a fourth or fifth rate phenomenon, which has lost its front-page challenge and vitality. If the newspapers are an accurate gauge of interest-values, and they provide the best gauge we have today, it is obvious that religion has become sixth and seventh page copy, commanding less and less importance in the eyes of the public. Whereas a pugilistic victory by Joe Louis, a political pronouncement by President Roosevelt, a new discovery in physics by Einstein, a trip from Oslo to Mexico by Trotsky, or a dare-devil expedition to the Arctic regions by Byrd, constitute front-page copy, what happens to the churches and the churchmen very rarely ever reaches the second or third page. In other words, in the battle for human attention and support, secular interests have definitely triumphed over religious. The fact that people are members of a church, or even attend a church, is of far less importance than how they rate that church in their scale of cultural values. What has happened to religion in America in that connection is not reflected by membership-statistics but by social attitude and outlook. It is in that latter respect that the decline in the religious mentality is most apparent and the decay of the religious institution most obvious.

One of the ways in which that decay has been most conspicuous has been in the inferior quality

of clergyman which the modern churches have cultivated. Prior to the eighteenth century, the clergy could lay claim to many of the best minds in the community and the nation; in the eighteenth, and even in the nineteenth, a considerable number of first-rate minds were still attracted to the ministry; within the last two or three generations, however, that is no longer the case. The first-rate minds in our day and age almost invariably gravitate in secular directions; they become engineers, physicists, chemists, economists, doctors, lawyers, politicians, writers, artists. The clergyman is no longer an intellectual force in advanced economic countries today. Many of the leading American colleges and universities have revealed such an indifference to religion and the possibility of encouraging men to become preachers that they have either eliminated their courses on theology or converted them into electives and classified them as special subjects.

II.

Let us turn at this point to a more specific consideration of the role played by the vested interests in the religious realm.

The last war, or as it is better known today, The First World War, is a good illustration of the role played by the vested interests in the religious realm. Here was war which every intelligent student of world affairs knows today was fought for indubitably economic reasons. The economic tie up between America and the Allies, tangibly illustrated by the loans that this country made to the latter, which practically made our participation in the War inevitable, is too well known to require analysis here. What interests us in this study is how all the clergymen, big and little, Protestant and Catholic, Gentile and Jewish, high-church and low-church, metropolitan and rural, Northern and Southern, Eastern and Western, declared themselves patriotic Americans and defended the war. The Prince of Peace was swiftly converted into a War-Lord who was dedicated to the proposition that the many should die for the dividends of the few. In a great number of cases the preachers out-vied the laity in their jingoistic clamor. "It is neither a travesty nor exaggeration to call this war on the part of America a truly Holy War," declared one pastor; other pastors, not to be out-done in their declamatory zeal, asserted that "It is God who has summoned us to this war. It is His war we are fighting"; "think it all through, and, at the bottom, the war is religious"; "it is simply to say that we are in

the war because we believe that thereby we are somehow serving God". Still other pastors maintained that "we must fight pacifism not only because it is contrary to the teachings of Christ, but because its whole tendency is to make a yellow streak where you want a man," and that "the man who is disloyal to the flag is disloyal to Christianity; the state must be obeyed under pain of incurring the guilt of mutiny against God." The peak of all these calamitous diatribes was reached by a Boston pastor who avowed that "three inches are not enough, seven inches are too many, for while you are pulling out the bayonet you are losing the opportunity to drive it into another man five inches. We must keep the flag and the cross together."

Nor was all this patriotism on the part of the pastors only in direct response to our entrance into the war. In 1915, Admiral Fiske averred that "the Christian religion is at this moment being made to exert a powerful influence, not towards peace, but towards war." **The Massachusetts Clerical Association declared itself in favor of War a month before Congress did.** Later on, after America had entered the war, Secretary Lane confessed that "the war could not have been won without the churches." Even liberal clergymen, such as Shailer Mathews, who had argued so strenuously in favor of "social Christianity", attempted to pervert Christ from a lover of peace into an advocate of the sword. When Reverend E. F. Weise stated at a Methodist conference, "I am an American but a Christian first," the rest of the ministers shouted: "Sit down! Shame on you! Traitor!" Worse than that, thousands of American preachers did nothing more than deliver sermons based upon the propaganda sheets that were sent out by the government.

But it should not be thought that the American clergy was singular in that respect. The clergymen of all countries were guilty of the same gesture. Catholics and Protestants on both sides of the battle field in Europe appealed to the same God and the same Christ to destroy the other. Once more Christianity became a spiritual mask behind which nationalist passions were concealed. Rendered subordinate to civil authority by the rise of the modern state, the Christian Church had no alternative but to support that state in all its actions. Whereas in the Middle Ages the state and Church had been indissolubly allied, with the Church imposing an international outlook upon the state; in the modern world the state, disallied from the Church, imposed its national outlook upon the latter. The Christianity which had once been looked upon as the international religion of Western civilization broke up into national Christianities which, whenever crises

arose, obeyed the bidding of the national states. This dissolution of the international spirit of Christianity converted every church in every land into a spiritual policeman for the national state. The Catholic Church underwent this transformation as well as the Protestant. Despite its international bureaus and branches, the Roman Catholic Church during the War succumbed to national interests in every country in which it was a force. The Catholic soldiers of Austria and Germany killed the Catholic soldiers of Italy and France, notwithstanding their common allegiance to the same Pope. Catholic priests in the warring countries attacked their national adversaries with no less zeal than Protestants. American Catholics in this connection proved no exception.

In a number of ways, many of which are incalculable, this spectacle of war-mad priests exhorting their countrymen to fight and kill their fellow-Christians in other lands did more than anything else to undermine the faith of myriads of individuals in the efficacy of Christianity as a religious force. At least part of the failure of Christianity to grow in America since the war can be attributed to that factor.

III

If we turn back to another war, this time the American Civil War, we can see another aspect of the tie-up between the vested interests and organized religion. Before the rise of the slavery issue, American Christianity was divided into numerous denominations and sects all of which sprang from differences of religious principle. Afterwards, divisions on the basis of religious principle became less important than cleavages along the lines of sectional opposition.

In the eighteenth century the Christian Churches were united to all practical purposes in their attitude towards slavery. They all condemned it as an evil institution. From the days of Cotton Mather, who attacked slavery with such vigor that his words had to be deleted from "Essays to do Good" when they were republished by the American Tract Society, to an early part of the nineteenth century when anti-slavery societies still persisted in the South, there was nothing but opposition for the institution on the part of organized Christianity. In 1780, the Methodist Church, which at the time was stronger in the South than anywhere else, assailed slavery as "contrary to the laws of God, man and nature and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not that others should do to us and ours." Four years later when the Methodist Episcopal Church was founded, it was definitely stipu-

lated that every member of the Church must agree to free his slaves within one year or cease to be a member in good standing. The Baptists were equally sweeping in their condemnation of the institution. The Presbyterians adopted the same anti-slavery position. This unanimity of religious outlook continued until the middle of the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

What changed it was the revolution which took place in Southern agriculture. Once more, as we have seen in the history of religious doctrine in the past, religion altered its complexion in harmony with the pressures and tensions of the changing environment. As the new agricultural regime, which resulted from the invention of the cotton gin in 1792, began to serve new class interests, Southern Christianity sprang to their defense. As soon as the effects of the cotton gin were felt in the South, Southern Churches refused to defend their anti-slavery stand. Between 1791 and 1795, for instance, before the cotton gin had been put into successful operation, only 5,200,000 pounds of cotton were produced; between 1826 and 1830, however, after the cotton gin had become the dynamo of Southern agriculture 307,244,400 pounds of cotton were produced. With the new efficiency which the cotton gin brought into cotton manufacture, the slave became more valuable because of the increased profits which could be derived from his labors as a cotton picker. Consequently, the slave who sold for \$300 in 1790 rose to \$1200 in value in 1830. It was this increase in value of the slave which directly conditioned the new attitude of Southern clergymen toward the institution of slavery. Beginning with the discovery of the Presbyterian minister, James Smylie, "that the system of American slavery was sanctioned and approved by the Scriptures as good and righteous," and the declaration of the Baptist preacher, Doctor Furman, that "the right of holding slaves is clearly established in the holy Scriptures both by precept and example," the rest of the Southern clergy rapidly learned to repeat the same formula which resulted in the creation of a Dixie brand of Christianity. Without doubt the alarm that spread through the South during and after the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831 had an immediate effect upon the psychology of the clergy. By 1845, the Church secession was in full swing. In that year both the Southern Methodists and the Southern Baptists seceded from the national body. The Presbyterians, after having once refused "to pervert God's work to make it either denounce or sanction slavery," seceded in 1857. No abolitionist could be admitted to the ministry of the Southern Churches. The fact that a number of Southern clergymen, especially among the bishops, were slaveholders undoubtedly tended to add vigor to their pro-slavery enthusiasm. By the time the Civil

War broke out the Christian Churches were among the first to spring to arms. Not only did many of the clergymen engage actively in the conflicts, but all of them (Episcopal Bishop Polk, for example, who was made a major-general in the Southern army) exhorted their parishioners to participate in the War, which, as The Southern Presbyterian declared, was being fought "not alone for Civil Rights, and property and home, but for religion, for the Church, for the gospel." One could easily fill pages with quotations from various Southern clergymen, extending from obscure, rustic pastors to pompous, affluent bishops, illustrating how completely Southern Christianity was bound up with Southern economics in its advocacy of slavery. (Before the Civil War, however, there were also Northern bishops who justified the institution. "The Slavery of the Negro race," declared the Bishop of Vermont, "appears to me fully authorized in the Old Testament.")

It is doubtful if there is a better illustration of how the religious compulsive is conditioned by the clash of class interests than that which is to be found in the history of American Christianity during the period which preceded and culminated in the Civil War. Religion was made to subserve directly the sectional and class interests involved. The Methodists and Baptists in the South sent their men to war with the same Christian convictions as the Methodists and Baptists in the North. In this connection Abraham Lincoln's words, in reply to the Methodist Episcopal group which came to see him, are of interest: "The Methodist Episcopal Church sent more soldiers to the field and more nurses to the hospital and more prayers to heaven than any! God bless the Methodist Episcopal Church! Bless all the churches! And blessed be God, who in this our trial giveth us the churches." What Lincoln neglected to note was that the churches in the South in those days of trial were praying to the same heaven and the same God for the opposite cause.

While various individuals such as the Abolitionist Sunderland attacked the Church and renounced orthodox Christianity, and leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison declared that "American Christianity is the main pillar of American slavery", the majority of the existing Christians adopted positions in accordance with their geographical location north or south of the Mason and Dixon line.

The second part of this article will be published next month, when Mr. Calverton will trace the development of the American churches to modern times.

Contemporary Canadian Artists

By G. CAMPBELL McINNES

No. 7---Paraskeva Clark

WHEN PAUL CEZANNE (1838-1906), the father of modern art, said that he wished "to do Poussin over again from nature" and "to make of Impressionism something solid and permanent like the old masters in the Louvre" he summed up his philosophy much more effectively than in the oft-quoted statement that everything in nature can be reduced to the cylinder, cone and cube. The Impressionists had re-discovered light; using their palette, Cézanne wished to render visible the solid forms which exist beneath the surfaces of things. Form and color, to him, were identical — inseparable. One achieved form through color; "when color has its richness," said Cézanne, "form has its plentitude". An understanding of this simple truth removes much of the mystery from modern art.

But in setting himself and those who came after him, this task, Cézanne was deliberately tackling the most exhausting and exacting method of creating true form that has ever been known. Hence it is that he did not very often achieve his object; but hence, also, comes the reason why everything that he did thrills the spectator with the evidences of a mighty struggle. A half-realized water-color by Cézanne contains in itself passages of sheer formal beauty and hints at ideas and feelings so vast that before them one can only be, as Cézanne was before his art, very humble. A Cézanne landscape is more than the representation of a scene, it is more than paint and canvas; it is a stupendous, if often half-realized, idea.

Consequently in the work of those who have elected to follow these methods, one does not look for easy decorative splendour, slickly realized superficial forms, nor even for linear rhythm — though this may exist. And perhaps these remarks will help toward an understanding of Paraskeva Clark's "Wheatfield", which is reproduced opposite. Not, in a sense, that it needs explanation, for we can see all that it is — a rolling, recently cut wheatfield, viewed from half way up a hill, with a group of barns at the right, and a group of trees at the left, and beyond, a broad, shallow valley, rising to a horizon line almost at the top edge of the canvas. But this does not explain why it thrills us in quite a different way from a wheatfield in nature, nor why it is so orderly and yet so casual, so easily flowing and yet so tightly concentrated. What does explain these things is form — or rather color-form, to coin a word.

Looking at this landscape, we realize that the essential inner forms, as well as the shapes, colors and textures of the scene have been captured. We realize the immense distance between us and the horizon, we sense the solid bones of the earth beneath the soil, which caresses every undulation; we feel the richness of the shimmering midsummer foliage — but we feel it all through form. In order to make clear what is meant, contrast the damp, dark shade under the trees at the upper left with close-cropped stubble at the bottom right. The former carries complete conviction, the latter does not, for its form is not completely realized.

Paraskeva Clark was born in Leningrad (Petrograd as it then was) and studied there, coming to Canada in 1931. Excellent training and experience, and her own integrity, have served to discipline, from within, feelings so passionate that they sometimes render her incoherent. Her work has a combination of two qualities unusual in a woman painter — extreme sensitiveness and wiry strength. She has reacted quickly to her new environment, and has already made valuable contributions to Canadian landscape art. She is completely and inevitably of her age, and her work, whether portrait, still life or landscape, is as instinct with the stress and counter-stress of our contemporary world as it is with the deep feelings of her strong and sensitive nature.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Sherwood Anderson needs no introduction, as he is the well-known American novelist.

V. F. Calverton, editor of the *Modern Monthly*, has published several books including the best sociological history of American letters, "The Liberation of American Literature".

J. A. P. Haydon is the Canadian correspondent for "Labor", the journal of the railway unions of America.

Sheila Campbell is a young art student and writer who appears in print for the first time with her own illustrations.

Matt Armstrong has contributed several short stories to the *Forum* and other periodicals. His story published in this issue was entered in Our Short Story Contest.

Personal Project
THEMATIC ANALYSIS



"Wheatfield"

Paraskeva Clark

Personal Protest

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

I WAS intensely interested in a recent article on "Proletarian Literature" in the Canadian Forum and am tempted to try my hand at some sort of expression, not surely under that head, or as an answer to the article, but rather to try a little to have my own say regarding the position of the writer in our time. It is all beastly confusing.

There is, for example, the matter of luxury. Who enjoys and, in fact, passionately loves luxury more than the artist man? The hunger for it is in his blood. The artist man is always trying to develop his senses. He wants to taste more, feel more, see more, hear more. Most of such men love fine fabrics. They love to array themselves. They respond to beautiful houses, to beautifully clad women. I have always thought that the born story teller is also partly the born actor. He is always going out of himself being, for the time, another. Now he is a poor woman, the wife, let us say, of a coal miner, kneeling at the bedside of her dead child or husband. Now he is a baseball player, a star man in one of the big leagues. He for a time leads the life of such a ball player.

Or he is a millionaire and owns a string of race horses, a scheming merchant, a little hill farmer driving a bony team across hills at night trying to elude the sheriff, attempting to get a keg of moon liquor to a certain gas filling station where he knows he can sell it. As he drives his poor horses along a little dirt road he is planning how he is going to spend the money he hopes to get. He will buy some calico for his wife for a dress, a pair of shoes for the baby, a box of snuff for himself.

To tell the truth I think the proletariat does wrong to depend upon us writers. I think that any organization of men, having as its function the correction of the ills of society, does wrong to trust the artist man.

There is, you see, no stability to him. He won't stay put, won't follow the line. Often, for example, I myself have said to myself that if it were possible for me, by turning over my hand, to reconstruct the whole social situation there was nothing on earth would induce me to do it.

Why?

I'll tell you why. It is because terror would sweep over me. I would begin shaking with fright. "Who am I to do this horrid thing? How do I know how it will turn out?"

It is, as I understand it, the purpose of the artist man to remain always fluid. He wants only to observe, to feel, to record. To be sure there

come times, say as it was in the United States in thirty and thirty-one, when a man goes about in city streets or visits the Hoovertowns at the edges of industrial cities, when he sees men in city streets pawing over garbage cans to get something to eat, when he catches fire.

He begins going on delegations, signs appeals, lends his name to committees.

There follows all sorts of confusion. A man finds himself being a kind of stuffed shirt. His name is up, here and there, as signer of protests he has not read, proclamations he doesn't understand.

And he hasn't read and doesn't understand because he is off somewhere in his imaginative world. Again he is being not himself, but this or that imagined figure, that is to go into one of his tales. He is trying to bring the imagined figure, born thus in his imaginative world, into some touch with the world of reality.

He forgets. He signs proclamations and protests without reading. He goes on delegations and is called "comrade" by men he has never seen before. He is confused and often, I must confess, deeply hurt.

It is this feeling of being used. It seems that the "comrades" are also often quite foxy. For example, a few years ago, I saw, by accident, in the New Republic, a long letter over my name protesting some injustice. It was evidently an injustice being done by some man or group of men I had never seen in a town I had never visited. I had never seen the letter that appeared in print. Some other man wrote it, signing my name without bothering to ask my permission.

And this is only one of such incidents. There have been others. There seems to be, among many of our radicals, a belief. "The end justifies the means," they seem to believe, but you see I do not believe that. I believe that means make the end.

Now when it comes to what is called "Proletarian Literature" I think it is purely a matter of background. Almost any writer, having sensibilities, does know that life is, on the whole, much more rich among the poor than among the successful. There is a generosity among the workers that the rich cannot know. You do not grow rich by being generous or by going out generously to your fellow men.

This granted. I myself happen to come out of the working class. I have, for the most part, all during my writing life, written of the lives of the poor and this, not out of any set purpose, but

because I have found such lives more interesting.

I think our most common and greatest mistake in all of this is the attempt to prove something that cannot be proven. Tergeniev was a rich man, an aristocrat, and yet who has written more tenderly and closely of the lives of the poor than Tergeniev in his "Annals of a Sportsman". What tenderness here, what vivid and beautiful pictures of obscure lives.

And so also I can conceive of myself who came out of the working class, writing with keen sympathy of the difficulties and confusions of some rich man's life.

You cannot put your finger on it. It can't be done. You cannot say this is the road and that is not the road.

This, I think, you can say, that the life of the imagination, figures in that life, truly conceived,

are as important to man as real lives. To sell people out in the imaginative life is as cheap and second rate a thing to do as to sell them out in real life and it seems to me that this is the point always being overlooked. A man has written a proletarian novel or play. It succeeds and within the week he is on his way to Hollywood. There he will sell everything out. "Ah," he says to himself, "I am doing it for money but I will give the money, or anyway a part of it, to the cause." The selling out of men's imaginative lives it seems does not matter.

But to me it is obvious that this is the very heart of the whole matter. Let men begin to have real respect for their own imaginative lives and for the imaginative lives of others and you will have in the end what will best serve all men. This is the real challenge to the artist man. It is the challenge most often forgotten by our artist men and women that come out of all classes.

The Cross

MATT ARMSTRONG

THE MOTHER sat in her rocker by the window, dozing. Always, on these long summer afternoons, it was her custom to wash up her few luncheon dishes, tidy the kitchen, give the dining room a lick and a promise just in case anyone should drop in, and doze for an hour or so in the parlor. It help to pass the time. It gave her a recess from loneliness.

But, today a sound aroused her. Opening her eyes, she parted the lace curtains and peered through the window. Before the house a truck had stopped. On the side of the truck, a bright red one, she read: CANADIAN NATIONAL EXPRESS. Her heart leaped. As she watched, a young man in a brass-buttoned blue vest and a uniform cap left the cab, trotted around to the back of the truck and lifted out a long parcel, and started along the walk to the house. She heard him whistling.

She was at the door before him, hurrying to unhook the screen. The youth grinned at her, touching his cap respectfully, and waited until she wiped her hands on her apron. Then he handed the parcel to her and went off whistling.

The Mother took the long parcel, carried it into the parlor, and placed it gently upon the table, not even removing the lace covering.

For a long moment she stood looking down at the parcel with eyes that glistened. This is it, she was thinking. Here, it has come at last. It seems so long since they wrote me. I thought it was never going to come.

Actually, it was more than a year since she had

received the letter from Ottawa stating that since the Canadian Government War Graves Department, was replacing all the temporary wooden crosses which now were on the graves in France with permanent concrete markers, the old wooden ones would be available to all Mothers requesting them.

Naturally, she had written back at once, asking for that which belonged to her. It had been a long year of waiting. But, here it was ended.

Trembling, her fingers fumbled with the cord tied about the brown paper wrapping. It had been very thoughtful of the Government, she thought, to do this for her. Only too well did she realize the fact that never would she have sufficient money to enable her to make the long pilgrimage across the sea to the place near Arras called Bois de Vert, because, Father having died during the early years after the War, she had not been allowed any pension for Arthur. So, if they just sent to her the wooden cross, that would bring him close to her, almost as though she had been able to go to France. It was the next best thing. She felt very grateful to the Government. She took the brown paper and the cardboard from around the cross. Then the cross itself lay before her eyes.

For a long time she continued to stare down at it. Her face stiffened. Her lips tight. It was a plain wooden cross, unpainted, about three feet in length, with a cross-piece crudely affixed to it six inches from the top. The wood was old, and of coarse grain. Just under the cross-piece was a knothole. Here and there were little patches of green, moss-

like fungus. Suddenly the Mother experienced a feeling of having committed sacrilege, for involuntarily the thought occurred to her that this cross was made from perhaps an old picket fence. She felt ashamed. Yet, that was what the wood made her think of. She could not help thinking that. It was just two pieces of wood tacked together.

Dully, her eyes took in the unfamiliar inscription on the cross:

7. C. 3.
270639 PTE. A. BROWN
116. CANADIANS
1 - 9 - 18

A. Brown. That meant Arthur. That name and number on there, stencilled in a ribbon of tin, and all those figures, they had to do with her son. It seemed strange to her. She felt ill. Somehow, this was not what she had expected, and vaguely she tried to decide for herself just what it was that she had expected from this thing. But her head whirled. She could not think. All she knew was the gnawing of the disappointment, deep within her.

Her stare wandered down to the bottom of the cross. For about six inches the wood was whitened where it had been stuck in the earth. And there were spots of dirt still on it. She looked at the dirt. Her fingers reached out and touched it. It surprised her to realize that it was dirt. It is the same as that in my garden, she thought. Or on the road. It is dirt from France. It is dirt from France, from the battlefield, but it is just like any other dirt. The thought kept circling around in her mind. And gradually the most important point spun upward until it flashed upon her with a clarity and suddenness that made her leave the table and fumble her way to the rocking chair by the window. It is dirt, the thought burned into her brain, from his grave, from his grave. The grave where my son lies. My dead son.

After a long time she arose from the chair, wrapped the paper and cardboard again around the cross and carried it hurriedly out and through the kitchen to the side room which she used only as a storeroom. Carefully she looked around, then she laid the cross on a shelf and slid it back as far as she could reach, back into the shadow. And there she left it.

Returning, she stopped at the buffet in the dining room and removed a pile of letters from a drawer, each envelope bearing in a corner a red triangle, thumbed them over slowly, then selected one and carried it to the parlor. She placed it on the arm of her chair. Then from the top of the organ she took a soldier's swagger stick, a bamboo one with a nickel-plated knob on the end, and leaned it against the chair. Then she sat down.

She held the letter in one hand, the stick in the other. It gave her a better feeling.

This was the stick he used to swing airily or tuck under his arm when he strode along the streets of the town in his clean new uniform, soon after his enlistment. And on the last morning, as he was about to leave the house, he had handed it to her grinning.

"Here's a present, Ma. Won't need this where we're off to. You can keep it for me. I'll be back soon," he had said to her as the three of them stood together on the veranda.

Then he was off the veranda, along the walk, and swinging down the street. Once he turned and grinned at them, and waved his hand casually. Then he had disappeared behind the corner of the next house. She and Father stood there a long time after he had gone, even after the click, click, click of the hard heels on his Army boots had faded into silence. Then they had gone into the house, Father closing the door, quietly.

She remembered thinking at the time, it is just as though he were off for a jaunt downtown: he might be back any time, he might be back any time at all.

Laying the cane across her knees, the Mother picked up the letter and opened it. The local postmark was still clear upon the envelope, although it had been stamped there so many years before. The date on the envelope was September 21st, 1918. Arthur had been killed on August 27th, 1918. He had written the letter just before going into the line for the last time, and it had not been received by her until some time after the cablegram. She read the letter again and again, almost hungrily. Part of it said:

"I am very well, Ma. I never felt better. It is a lovely war. We are in rest billets now, away back of the line. It is nice back here, after the racket up front. We have no parades, so we are just loafing, taking it easy in comfort, and wishing so for home. There is no need to worry. Back here we don't know there is a war on at all. So don't fret. Will see you soon . . ."

She could not get enough of it. She kept reading it over and over, letting each word sink deeply into her soul. She sat there in her rocking chair until at last her head dropped and she slept with her chin on her chest, with the letter and stick still clutched in her fingers, and the afternoon sun sank lower so that its beams slanted through the window and made silver of her grey hair, and warmly caressed the ageing ivory of her face. Her eyes were closed. Her lips smiling again.

The Great Lakes

SHEILA CAMPBELL

OUT FROM PORT ARTHUR

Her heart caught high on a mast
her feet printing the water
she streams with woollen winds past
the Giant, and the fringe of Port Arthur.

her womb is loaded with grain
hot heaped through her interior
like a pregnant woman in pain
she rolls her wet hips through Superior

and the gulls cry like wild sons
and wild sons leap from the bow
where water arches and runs
and their backs glisten green by her prow.

* * *

WHEELSMAN

The wheelsman pulls for six long hours
to wheel about the curving stars
and all his arms and legs are pressed
about the north south east and west
his compass eyes, and the slow rhyme
of bells each quarter hour of time,
and cities fall below his rim
where gulls rise up to stare at him.

* * *

LETTER FROM THE LAKES

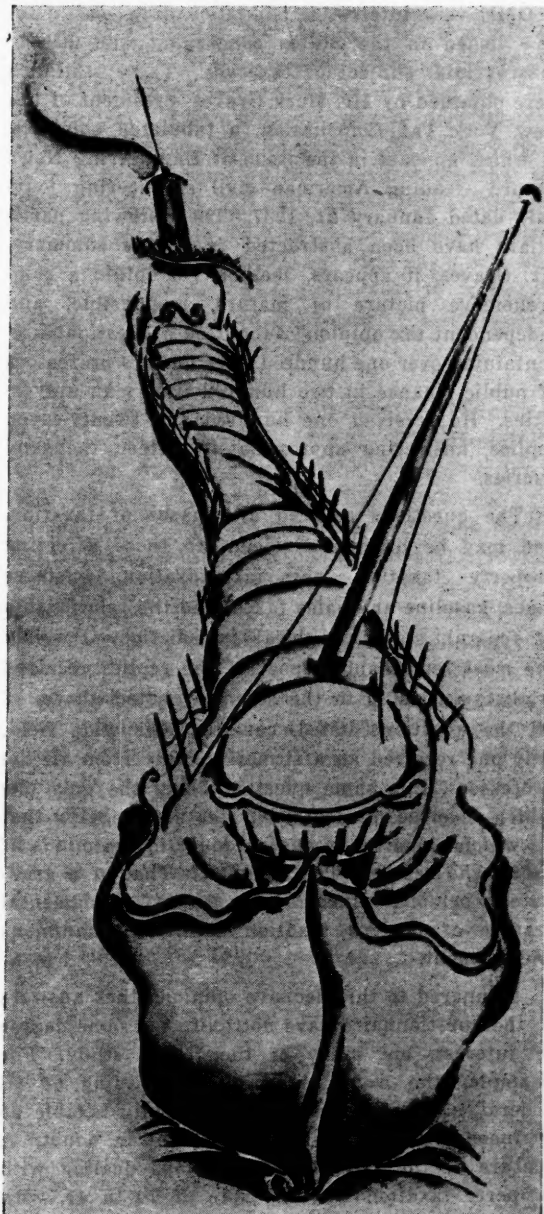
Superior takes us into her arms like a death
And we hear her laughter, my darling, screamed
from a thousand crumbling pulpits.

Even the surpliced gulls scream matins down her
naves
Or she lifts her whaley sides with their soughing
winter preludes round the wheelhouse.

Only the thin blown sound of a mouth-organ aft
Rocking under the storm trails her wake through
the grey evening after the wheelsman.

The intense moths our hands and faces
Glimmer over the long cemetery lakes like
significant lanterns palely,
We with white hair like a shrouded Christmas.

Where Huron is a green Autumn epilepsy
The horizontals roll, honey, the deck, the rails,
even the damned horizon
Trying to be masts, spars, lightning, stripes and
deckhands
And the boat pulls out of the brassy sunrise her
breast pounding in waves like goats



With the smoke her high horns clawing over the sky
And the lakes broad fingers under a cactus spray
lacing her wake the rim round.

We are given back again, honey,
Savage and beautiful on Autumn lakes before a
winters unemployment
We the bright leaves her crew on thin antennae legs.

Taxation--An American Inquiry

ROBERT LEGGETT

SOME very interesting statistics have been published in the States concerning the highly controversial subject of taxation. These statistics were obtained by Mr. Mark Graves, president of the New York Tax Commission, a tabulated summary of which appears in the issue of *Engineering News Record* (leading American civil engineering journal) dated January 21, 1937. The following particulars have been abstracted from this summary. Mr. Graves, it appears, seeking "to obtain a comprehensive picture of mature, responsible, and independent tax opinion" submitted a questionnaire, containing over one hundred questions, to professors of public finance in two hundred American universities. He received one hundred and twenty-seven replies, answering approximately fifteen thousand queries.

The questions covered all phases of taxation, and may be broadly divided into those affecting property taxation, personal taxation, business taxes, gasoline and sales taxes, and the relationship of federal, state and local jurisdiction. Possibly the most remarkable aspect of the replies received is that, according to the summary noted above, of all the questions listed, covering this wide field, only one received an affirmative reply from all the professors, this same question being the only one which received no negative votes at all, being that on which alone there was no doubt in the minds of those who replied. The question? That of a graduated personal income tax, this fundamental feature of modern taxation receiving unanimous endorsement.

Compared to this decisive opinion other answers to the questionnaire have not quite the same degree of interest, but many of them bear study. For example, the vote regarding the issuing of all federal, state and local securities, fully taxable as to income was 109 to 10, with eight in doubt. A feature of the answers to questions dealing with property taxation was the vote of 70 to 41, with 16 in doubt, as to improvements being taxed at a lower rate than land. That part of the questionnaire covering gasoline and motor vehicle taxes naturally resulted in a fairly evenly balanced vote, except that 81 voted for the mandatory use of these taxes for highway work to 39 against this idea, with 7 in doubt. Another feature is that the voting with regard to the entire highway system outside of incorporated areas being financed, constructed and maintained by states instead of being left

under the jurisdiction of local governments, was 105 to nine.

Sales taxes revealed much more definite opinions. One hundred and one voted against the idea of a general federal retail sales tax, and only 16 in favor of it, corresponding figures for state and local retail sales taxes being 87 to 24, and 119 to 2 respectively, in both cases voting being against such a tax. The voting against a producers' sales tax, be it federal, state, or local, was even more decisive. The topics included under the heading "Relationship of Federal, State and Local Jurisdiction" were naturally varied, and the answers generally indefinite, except in two cases. The first of these, regarding an increase in federal control over child labor, received 101 affirmative votes and 15 negative votes. Finally, in the second case, 123 professors agreed with the concept of state supervision over local expenditure, only 4 objecting to this.

To comment fully on the implications of these interesting expressions of opinion, even of the few leading examples which have been quoted, would be no small task. The attempt to do this will not be made, however, since it would be easy in this way to attach too great importance to what is, after all, the result of but a single questionnaire circulated to a peculiarly limited group of specialists. At the same time, the information thus assembled is of no small value, coming as it does from those who, above all others, have had opportunities for studying carefully the operations and results of American finance, business methods, and public administration. It may be said, with all due respect, that no especially advanced social views would normally be expected from such a group as that to which the questions were addressed. Those answering the questionnaire, however, were all men who had necessarily given much thought to the whole subject of taxation and its relation to the public welfare. It is, therefore, of unusual significance to find such an unequivocal answer being given regarding personal income tax, especially when this is considered in connection with the almost equally definite views on the use of a sales tax. Is it too much to hope that some trend towards this view of taxation may be looked for in Canada amongst those leading Canadians who speak publicly on this matter, and who may be assumed to give some consideration to the social implications of the several types of tax before they speak about them?

Facts, Figures and Finance

Business Conditions

PHYSICAL volume of business in May stood at 96.9 (1929=100), compared with 98.8 in April 1937, and 85.7 in May 1936. For industrial production the corresponding figures are 98.4, 101.1 and 85.2. Manufacturing, at 102.9, was slightly above April 1937 (102.2) and well above May 1936 (90.4). Most of the individual indices showed substantial improvement over last year, among the most notable examples being: asbestos exports, 191.9 (91.1); bauxite imports, 153.4 (April) (86 last year); steel, 103.7 (81.1); automobiles, 71.5 (61.1); power, 156.9 (142.1); and newsprint, 127.5 (110.3). Newsprint production in the first five months of 1937 showed a gain of 21 per cent. over last year, and mills are operating at "close to capacity". June construction was almost 46 per cent. above 1936; the six months' total, \$110,375,800, was up 42 per cent.; and MacLean Building Reports Limited estimate "contemplated building" at \$239,300,000, or 61.2 per cent. above the same date last year. Combined gross earnings of the railways to June 21 were \$158,098,611, 9.8 per cent. above 1936. For March, April and May, C.N.R. net revenue was higher than C.P.R. and as the wheat areas tributary to the C.N.R. are much less hard hit by drought than those of the C.P.R. this favourable showing may continue. Combined net revenues for the first five months, \$13,297,802, were 64.6 per cent. above 1936. Employment on June 1 stood at 96.1 for all industries (85.7 last year); 100.7 in manufacturing (88.3); 81.1 in construction (67.1); 126.5 in mining (110); 93.6 in power (89.1); 99.4 in pulp and paper (84.9); 89.1 in iron and steel (72.6); 107.3 in automobiles and parts (90.1). Employment is now above the 1929 average in edible animal products, leather, edible plant products, pulp and paper products, textile products, liquors, chemicals, automobiles and parts, non-ferrous metal products, non-metallic mineral products, and trade; precisely at the 1929 average in electrical apparatus, and almost at that point in pulp and paper, machinery and services. External trade in the first four months showed considerable increases: exports 21.1 per cent., imports 29 per cent., perhaps reflecting some improvements in the purchasing power of our exports.

The Drought

The one thoroughly bad part of the picture is, of course, the crop failure on the prairies. The Canadian Bank of Commerce had estimated Canadian far mpurchasing power for the twelve months ending March at 82.24 (1929=100), an increase of 9-1/2 per cent. over the previous year; and there had been hopes of a further considerable improvement. Now comes what the Financial Post calls "the worst wheat crop failure Canada has ever experi-

enced", with "the smallest crop Canada has ever harvested since wheat growing assumed major proportions." In wheat alone, it suggests, the cash loss has been close to \$150,000,000, while the total loss has probably cost Canada \$250,000,000.

Dividends and Bond Interest

Gross dividends for the first seven months of 1937 according to the Financial Post, were \$176,284,725 (143,755,962 last year), an increase of almost 23 per cent. If this rate of increase continues, the total for the year will be nearly \$320,000,000. Gross bond interest payments for the seven months were \$265,896,590 (\$252,551,015 last year), an increase of five per cent. The Nesbitt Thomson dividend index for June, brought to the 1929 basis, was 95.3; for the six months, 91.4, and "there is every indication that the upward movement . . . will continue during the rest of the year."

Dominion Public Finance

For the first three months of the fiscal year Dominion revenues were \$167,219,981, expenditures (including special, capital, and non-active loans) \$115,939,486, a surplus of \$51,280,495. The corresponding figures for last year were \$134,865,019, \$118,355,396, and \$16,509,623. Income tax receipts were \$81,607,705 this year, \$65,976,608 last.

Stock Market

The Canadian stock markets reached a low for the year during the month of June, however there has been a rally for the first half of July. An interesting development is the new market leader on the Montreal exchange, Dominion Steel and Coal B. This company are now paying the highest wages in their history, the minimum being 43 cents an hour, having raised their wages all around just before the elections in Nova Scotia. It is impossible to tell just how much this insurance against labor troubles is a factor in the bullish activity of this stock, but other companies might well follow their example.

Per Capita Consumption

... The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has released the following figures for the per capita consumption of certain foodstuffs for the year 1936 as compared to 1933.

	1936	1933
Pork	lbs. 67.83	75.02
Beef and Veal	lbs. 60.34	55.50
Mutton and Lamb	lbs. 5.93	6.14
Hens and Chickens	lbs. 16.05	11.07
Butter	lbs. 31.42	30.18
Eggs	doz. 21.66	22.68
Cheese	lbs. 3.37	3.39

A rough ready calculation gives the total value of butter consumed (at 30 cents a lb.) as 100 millions, at least we are a step of Germany as our armament bill is only 36 millions. However, the average consumption of 1-12 of a pound per day is well below army rations.

E.A.F.

THIS MONTH'S COMPETITION

Report on Competition No. 9

"IMAGINARY CONVERSATION"

A prize of \$5.00 for the best imaginary conversation of not more than 300 words, between any of the following pairs of characters:

Wm. Lyon Mackenzie and W. L. Mackenzie King;

Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Duplessis;

Louis Riel and Mr. Aberhart;

Elizabeth Browning and Dorothy Livesay;

King Solomon and Mr. Dionne;

Dr. Sam Johnson and Sir Edward Beatty.

The results of this competition seem to indicate a predominantly literary interest among our competing readers. There were twice as many attempts at the Browning-Livesay conversation as at any other pair. The general level of contributions was not very remarkable. No one convincingly captured the winning suavity of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Wm. Lyon Mackenzie seems to have mellowed surprisingly with time, and the epigrammatic style of King Solomon has fallen off sadly since his last published works. Mr. A. C. Stewart produced a number of good lines in his Johnson-Beatty sketch, and magnanimously refrained from rubbing in the fact that we had printed the name "Johnston". His dialogue, however, considerably exceeded the space limit set; he avoided the common fault of making one of the characters a mere stooge, but the words put into Sir Edward Beatty's mouth tended to be rather caricature than conversation; finally, it is rather strange to make a man speak in blank verse, who has said, "what reason could urge in its defence has been confuted by the ear . . . He that thinks himself capable of astonishing may write blank verse; but those that hope only to please must condescend to rhyme." Miss Ethel E. Pace deserve Honourable Mention for a serious, concise, and balanced exposition of two sharply opposed points of view, in her dialogue between Elizabeth Browning and Dorothy Livesay. It is recommended that the prize be awarded to Mr. C. L. Coburn for a vivacious conversation adequately characterized.

The winning entry: An imaginary conversation between Mr. William Aberhart and Mr. Louis Riel.

ABERHART: So you see, Mr. Riel, my intentions were of the very best. I had promised to give my people every blessing that a beneficent government can bestow. And I would have done it, too, if those Eastern bankers and politicians hadn't blocked my every move.

RIEL: I, too, had great plans for my people—but, I, too, found the East too strong for me.

ABERHART: What grieves me most is the conviction that in the defeat of my plans, the very cause of God is being injured. Heaven's blessing was on our work! Why, I prophesied it myself, right from the pulpit of our Prophetic Institute.

RIEL: It was the same with me, Heaven was with us, too. But when you get Ontario against you, the assistance of Heaven doesn't seem to mean quite so much.

ABERHART: I know what you mean. But I am not beaten yet. The people of Alberta will still respond to my appeals. From defeat I shall rise to victory, till the gospel of our cause is broadcast to every corner of the land, and Canada shall be ruled by Social Credit from sea to sea. We shall mow down all

obstacles in our path. Our enemies shall fall before us as the wheat before the reaper. Even now I see a vision . . .

RIEL: Yes, yes, my friend. I too saw visions and dreamed dreams. I too swept all before me; but I made one fatal error. My friend, learn from me. There are many things you may do, and none will oppose you. You may seize the banks, the industries, you may blind the people, you may defy a whole nation, but as you value your cause and your own safety, there is one thing you must not do. Whatever happens, you must never, never shoot an Orangeman!

Competition No. 7

A prize of \$5.00 is offered for the best Vacation story in 400 words or less. Affidavits of veracity, are not required.

The rules are:

- 1—Address Monthly Contest Editor, The Canadian Forum, 28 Wellington Street West, Toronto.
- 2—No mss are returned, and any may be printed in part or in whole, whether awarded a prize or not.
- 3—Members of the Canadian Forum Board are not eligible to compete.
- 4—The decision of the Contest Editor is final; he need not award a prize if he considers no entry is worthy of award.
- 5—Entries must reach the Contest Editor by the 10th of each month.

O CANADA!

(\$1.00 will be paid for the press clipping published at the head of this column)

He cited a Manitoba statute which declares that a county court judge who has died and who failed to hand down judgment before he died, should then hand down his judgment within eight weeks after his demise. If eight weeks after he has passed away the judge has not yet handed down his decision, then the action may be dropped.—Toronto Evening Telegram.

* * *

It is not ethical nor is it sportsmanlike to break contracts, but heavy-weight boxing is more of a business than a sport.—Sporting comment in the Toronto Globe and Mail.

* * *

Ordinarily the eight litres of blood in our veins believe in God . . . The husband exerts this empire of authority, nor does the wife practice this beautiful empire of love our ancestors learned in France.—Cardinal Villeneuve at the French Language Congress, as reported in the Montreal Star.

* * *

"That is what he (Roosevelt) thought of lawlessness at that time before Lewis poured half a million dollars into his campaign fund. Well they haven't poured any money into our campaign fund and we will stop them at the Detroit River."—Premier Hepburn as reported in the Montreal Gazette.

This month's prize is awarded to Mr. A. L. Woodward, Toronto.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Dominion Provincial Relations

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES TO THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN CANADA: J. A. Maxwell; Harvard University Press; pp. 284; \$3.00.

THIS VERY valuable book will be one of the most important data papers for the long expected Royal Commission on dominion-provincial financial relations. Professor Maxwell, whose articles on the subject in various journals during recent years are well known to every student, has here made a comprehensive study of the whole development of the subsidy system from the B.N.A. Act down to the present. He tells how each separate revision of subsidies was brought about. His review is a powerful demonstration of the complete lack of principle which has marked this aspect of our federal constitutional system.

Whether the basis of debt settlement and subsidy payments laid down in the Act was sound or not, it was as much a part of the constitution as Sections 91 and 92 and should have been subject to change only by proper constitutional methods. But John A. Macdonald started the process of undermining it by his better terms to Nova Scotia in 1869, thereby carrying out a revision of the constitution by mere action of the Dominion parliament and setting a bad precedent which has been followed by all his successors. Professor Maxwell's history helps us to realize how much harm was done to the national spirit by Macdonald's light-hearted cynicism in holding together divergent sections of the country by bribing first one and then the other. Perhaps this kind of statesmanship was inevitable, but by encouraging the provinces' "calf-like appetite for the milking of this one most magnificent government cow" it has perpetuated sectionalism in its most vicious form. Provincial Governments found they could always get themselves out of fiscal difficulties by blackmailing the Dominion Government, and that no pretext for increasing the provincial subsidies was too outrageous to meet with consideration provided that they watched their opportunities and applied pressure when the Dominion Government was in need of votes. The federal opposition at Ottawa, after the constitutional purism of Blake and Mackenzie passed out of fashion among the Liberals, invariably assisted them by promising to do better for them than the government in office. And in more recent years the process has been carried on through the convenient casuistry of Royal Commissions whose highly respectable members seem to have differed from the most cynical of poli-

ticians only in the greater degree of ingenuity with which they rationalized these raids upon the federal treasury.

Professor Maxwell's book is divided into two sections. In the first and longest section he deals with these "unconditional" subsidies which stem from the B.N.A. Act. In the second he reviews the more recent "conditional" subsidies, the grants-in-aid from the Dominion to assist the provinces in agricultural or technical education, in building good roads, in establishing old age pensions. He shows that the supervision and control by the Dominion over the expenditure of these moneys has been of the sketchiest kind and that, in the absence of such effective control, the system has been open to grave abuses.

His conclusion is that the unconditional subsidies should be abolished altogether. He proposes that the sums now paid should be capitalized and applied in this form by the Dominion to the reduction of provincial debts, the servicing of the debt being now the main burden upon provincial budgets, and that with this really final contribution Dominion payments should cease. The system of conditional subsidies he thinks capable of wide expansion, and he is in favour of it because he is afraid of too much central administration in a country like Canada. The conditional subsidy enables the administration of the various social services to be decentralized and adapted to local conditions.

But Professor Maxwell's own study shows how impossible it has been for the Dominion to insist upon any standards in the spending of such grants-in-aid as it has experimented with up to the present. Surely the conditional subsidy will only continue the same kind of abuses as have marked the unconditional subsidies since 1869. Ingenious provincial premiers will devise pretexts for tapping the Dominion treasury as in the past, and in the lack of any genuine national loyalty in our politics the federal government will find it politically necessary to yield to their blackmail as usual and to shut its eyes while the money is being spent. Surely it is naive to hope for anything better as long as subsidies in any form continue. The only hope for good administration in this country, and it is not a very strong hope, is that the responsibility for the newer social services—which mean the application of nation-wide standards of welfare—shall be centred in the government at Ottawa which has to find the money for the services.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

Folk Songs

ROMANCERO DU CANADA: Marius Barbeau; Macmillan; pp. 254; \$2.75.

IT IS a commonplace of culture that French-Canadian folk song is a treasure of singular richness; but English-speaking Canadians, knowing these songs only through the collections commonly available, must often have wondered on what hidden wealth this judgment was based, for, with one or two notable exceptions, it is the dullest variants of the dullest songs that have been offered in the past. For the enthusiast, Mr. Barbeau's magnificent collection of seven thousand texts and four thousand tunes, many of them, of course, simple variants, provided an adequate corrective, but the very wealth of occasionally repetitious detail in the published collections of Mr. Barbeau and the more capable of his predecessors and collaborators alarms and wearies the interested amateur.

In this *Romancero*, which, it is gratifying to learn, is intended to be only the first of a long series, we are presented with some fifty of the best of these songs, in a legible, attractive and enduring form, accompanied by a full and scholarly account of the text, music and background of each. The selection has been made with an eye to securing wide variety of mood and subject, and there is not a single uninteresting piece in the lot. How rare this distinction is, anyone familiar with collections of folk-song can well appreciate.

Variants of text or tune have been omitted. An attempt has been made to establish an adequate critical text from the different versions, and care has been taken to avoid the horrid deformations to which well-intentioned collectors, in accordance with narrow prejudice and academic convention, submitted many excellent tunes, both on this continent and in Europe. The tunes are faithfully preserved in their original grace, vivacity, and expressiveness; their vocal idiom, which has been maintained in singular purity by the French-Canadian singers, has not been ironed out into a flat and oppressive pianoforte-primary regularity. Their modal individuality has been honestly and indeed scrupulously respected, with the result that ears worn dull by centuries of the common mode, find in them an unusual freshness and vitality. Mr. Barbeau, while marking the mode, or the changing modes, of each song, has wisely refrained from offering any accompaniment.

For the accurate appreciation and keen enjoyment by a wide public, this is by far the finest book that has yet appeared. No Canadian singer or amateur with any ear for a fine tune and the slightest knowledge of French can afford to neglect it. It should perhaps be added that the text is entirely in French.

L. A. MacKAY.

The Moon-Wist of Audrey Brown

THE TREE OF RESURRECTION: Audrey Alexandra Brown; Macmillan; pp. 151; \$2.50.

IN 1931, from the collective foreheads of the Victorian poets, sprang Audrey Alexandra Brown, fully-armed with the plaudits of Canadian authors' groups and of their attendant ladies. The fact that Miss Brown's early conventional education and invalidism had led her into verses "lost in a dream of opal-amber days", bearing no visible relation to the western Canadian coal-town in which she lived, or to this world, was accepted not as a natural limitation but as a romantic testimony to the purity of her genius. A rather notable absence of originality in thought or phrasing was explained as the blessed visitation of the "classical spirit" to Nanaimo. And those clamorous echoings in her verse of the nineteenth-century Great were welcomed as "traditionalism", as proof that even in its new greatness Canadian literature, like Canadian politics, condescended to remain loyal to the Empire. That it was now nothing more than condescension was indicated by the writer of a prize essay in the "Canadian Bookman" (Feb., 1935) who pointed out that Miss Brown's "Laodamia" was not only "the most valuable contribution that has yet been made to our national literature" but also a poem equal to anything to be found in all the tomes of Keats, Shelley, Browning or Tennyson.

However just may be this parallel, what seems to have been forgotten is that Keats and the other boys beat Miss Brown to publication by a few score years. One is reminded of these harsh chronological verities by a new volume of Miss Brown's poems, especially since half of it is a reprint of the verses by which the lady arose to Canadian fame, and the rest is the same star-dust and dawn-glow and dreams, tuned to the sweet sharp thin pluckings of a zither. (Here the reviewer is lured into the traditionalism of Miss Brown.)

So far as there is any development beyond the 1934 volume, it consists in some pruning of this scented lushness—but not enough, not enough—and a deepening of religious feeling. The title poem, somewhat diffusely Tennysonian, asserts a faith in personal physical immortality. There are other verses assuring us that beauty dies not, death is kinder than life, God exists. There are more antimacassar embroiderings on Greek legends, and "delicate raptures, fragile ecstasies" upon Nature. The forests of British Columbia continue to yield for Miss Brown daffodils and no dogwood, halcyons not woodpeckers, innumerable oreads but never a logger. Like her Nadya Cyrillovna, Miss Brown may properly lament

I am tranced, I am drowned
In music of nightingales.

Of the forty-two poems, only one mentions so local and ephemeral a being as a miner; he is a naughty fellow—who is punished for his amorousness by a creepy supernatural death in a folksy sort of mine. The one other incursion into the world of the flesh is a warning to the Spanish that if they go on killing each other they won't be able to build the fair creation their wiser fathers willed"—whatever that means. Elsewhere Miss Brown speaks of war only in terms of silver trumpets and gold adornings.

There is no doubt that Miss Brown has been, for some time, the most decorative and melodic of our younger writers, and she has not lost her virtuosity.

The Canadian Forum

When she can steady her movement with the sincerity of a personal emotion, as apparently in "Past Noon, October", she achieves a tender and poignant lyricism. But even here the bookish veil between the author and her ragged unclassical environment is never quite parted. None of the new poems succeeds as well as the earlier, frankly romantic "Laodamia", here reprinted. Beneath its monotonously silken rhythms and legendary petticoats there move at least some dignity and pathos.

Most of the new poems are in fact definitely inferior to Miss Brown's first work. They continue to evoke little more than pale memories of more and more poets—Cleridge and the Rossettis, Housman, Yeats, Arnold, Milton, Sidney, St. Francis, Brooke—and where in this anthology is Miss Brown? And what is more unfortunate, all this labor of imitation has not taught her the "traditional" carefulness in rhymes. "Singer" does not lie happily with "linger"; within the space of ten lines occur the following bedfellows: wood, blood; foot, fruit; whorl, pearl.

For those who are not bothered by such detail, Miss Brown will no doubt continue to co-star with Shelley. The author herself seems to feel considerable confidence in her future:

I never had a garden. All my flowers
Are of dim amber and dream amethyst
And twilight-rose—rainbows and stars and mist—
Too delicately fair for sun or showers . . .
But they will blossom still when June is gone.

Brave words—but there is usually a frosty December ahead for young writers who remain as contented with their juvenilia as were their first provincial admirers.

EARLE BIRNEY.

Brave New World

I VISIT THE SOVIETS: Margaret Gould; Francis White, Toronto; pp. 166; \$1.00.

MISS GOULD describes the Soviet Union from the point of view of a woman engaged in social service work. This approach is undoubtedly the most useful one for an author who wants to write about contemporary Russia in sympathetic terms. The political situation in the Union has rapidly deteriorated in the past year; the economic development has been likewise affected, according to the latest reports. A writer who deals almost exclusively with hospitals, rest-homes, crèches, factory kitchens and children's theatres has a vast field open to her in which to find the brave new world. And in so doing she would not be giving a misleading or necessarily one-sided picture, for it is in just such activities that the new spirit released by the Russian revolution is finding its most attractive outlet. While spies are being shot, schools are being opened; while ambitious men fight for power at the top, simple men and women struggle in their daily lives to make life cleaner, healthier and happier. Russia is bigger than Stalin and Communism is more than the Russian communist party. We, whose feelings about foreign countries are so much at the mercy of newspaper headlines, tend to forget how wide is the sweep of social reform in the Soviet Union, how steadily the drive for social betterment continues in spite of political blunderings and human weaknesses.

Nevertheless, when all allowances are made Miss Gould's book exasperates us a little by not telling us the things we want to know. We are not so much interested

in finding out whether new schools are being built; surely we can expect that they will be in a country whose population increases at the rate of 3,000,000 a year. We are anxious to know what quality of mind they are aiming to produce from these schools. Will it be free, inquiring and scientific in outlook, or will it be indoctrinated with a new set of superstitions of a political and economic instead of a religious nature? At present the latter kind of school exists in fact, if not in theory, to a most dangerous extent. We are not so much concerned with plans for health insurance, old age pensions or slum clearance; such schemes can be taken for granted in any industrial society, be it capitalist, socialist or fascist. We are anxious to know the standard of aid provided and especially the fairness with which it is administered. Have all citizens a right to these things, or are they handed out like political patronage to right-minded citizens only? In totalitarian states the control of social services gives the state an additional weapon of immense power with which to compel conformity, and I am not impressed by statements in the new Russian constitution about workers having a "right" to anything until I am shown the legal procedure by which they can enforce that right against public officers who dislike them. Arbitrary imprisonment was declared unlawful in England by Magna Carta in 1215, but innumerable Englishmen were arbitrarily imprisoned until the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided a machinery for getting a man out of prison for trial. Without belittling in any way the great achievements of the new regime in Russia in the social services, it is fair to say that we have passed beyond the stage of mere wonder at the existence of these services and are interested chiefly in the problems of efficiency and freedom with which Miss Gould does not deal.

The struggle between good and evil, or, to use less theological terms, between progress and reaction, is now apparent in Russia within the framework of socialism. There can be no question of restoring laissez-faire capitalism—that is gone forever. But the socialist state can be democratic or totalitarian, just as capitalism can be of the American or the Japanese variety. Soviet democracy, like our own, is alive but hard pressed.

F. R. SCOTT.

Scholastic Finale

THE LETTERS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT: edited by Sir Herbert Grierson, Vol. XII; Macmillan; pp. 520; \$5.50.

THIS IS the final volume of Professor Grierson's monumental edition of Scott's letters—the Centenary Edition—the first volume of which appeared on the one hundredth anniversary of Scott's death, September 21, 1932. Some 52 pages are sufficient for the letters written during the last eighteen months of his life, and the remainder of the volume is filled with miscellaneous letters which are not available for publication in their proper chronological place in the earlier volumes. Most interesting of these are the letters written by Scott to his wife before their marriage in 1797, from London in 1807, on his tour in the Light-House Yacht in 1814 and from Belgium and France in 1815. They were discovered in 1935 in a secret drawer in the desk in the study of Abbotsford, and occupy more than one hundred pages in the printed volume. Then there are letters to George Ellis, Richard Heber, Bishop Percy, J. P. Collier and many others, and the volume concludes with a complete list

of Scott's correspondents and an index of his letters addressed to them.

And so in a little more than four years from the publishing of the initial volume we have the completed work. Only those who have been occupied with similar tasks can appreciate the enormous labours of Professor Grierson and his assistants. We may be sure that the most meticulous care has been taken to make the printing letter-proof, and few scholars can be possessed of the immense learning necessary to write the notes which elucidate the letters. Henceforth, the student of Scott may know assuredly what Scott wrote, and in sufficient detail to satisfy the most devoted of his admirers, for here is God's plenty. It is a great public service which Professor Grierson has performed, for which future generations of students will feel gratitude. And if the shade of Sir Walter Scott is still concerned with things mundane we may be sure that he too will be approving, for this new monument to his memory—perennius aere—will not play the bankrupt with his reputation.

MALCOLM W. WALLACE.

Diffidence

HENRY CRABB ROBINSON of Bury, Jena, "The Times" and Russell Square: John M. Baker; George Allen and Unwin; pp. 256; \$2.50.

THE IMPORTANCE of Crabb Robinson in the literary history of the first half of the nineteenth century is beyond doubt and beyond definition. His diary, reminiscences and correspondence, only partly published, have provided source-material for biographies of his notable friends. He met almost everyone of literary importance in his time both in England and Germany—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Thackeray, Goethe, the Brentanos, Wieland, Herder, Schiller—to make an incomplete list. He was an early interpreter of German philosophy and literature to England, and indirectly to France, in that he initiated Mme. de Staël into the mysteries of German thought. He is remembered with respect by the University of London as one of her founders. He was the first modern war-correspondent reporting to "The Times" from Germany in 1807, and from Corunna the next year. From the age of nineteen when he published an essay on Godwin until the age of eighty-six when he explained the issues of the American Civil War to his countrymen he contributed frequently to the London magazines.

And yet he fell far short of greatness and knew it. He was always taking notes for important books which were never to be written. He enjoyed leisure; he lived on terms of friendship with the first men of letters of his time; he wanted to be a writer himself; and yet nothing much came of it but a vast diary and a collection of letters to be thumbed over by candidates for a Ph.D. Obviously he lacked genius, especially imagination. Quite as important, he lacked uncritical self-confidence. He knew too many men greater than himself.

Mr. Baker has written an interesting and enthusiastic account of Robinson, using as illustration a large number of quotations from his unpublished or less known work. His principal fault, like that of his subject, is a certain diffidence. He seems to assume that Miss Edith Morley has a proprietary right in Crabb Robinson because she has printed large sections from his diary and correspondence. He tries to avoid using any material which has

appeared in her volumes. Consequently, his book is frequently lacking in proportion, and is severely restricted in scope. One wishes that Mr. Baker had bravely written a complete biography, instead of a supplement to Miss Morley's editorial work.

J. R. MACGILLVRAV.

Colonial Circus

GULLA, THE TRAMP: An Ethnological Indiscretion; By John Carlin; Nelson-Cape; pp. 407; \$3.75.

THIS IS an unimportant but very pleasant book. It relates the adventures of a German female ethnologist and her English male companion during a year's travel in the French mandated territory of the Cameroons. The author is the Englishman involved, and as far as one can judge, this is his first literary effort. He obviously enjoyed himself enormously in the Cameroons, and he writes in order to pass on to others some share in the immense fun that he had. One cannot help comparing this book with a much more highly-advertised travel book, written around a similar careless couple of mixed sexes and nationalities—Mr. Peter Fleming's *News from Tartary*, and Mr. Carlin's book does not suffer by comparison with the work of the more experienced Fleming. In fact he shows much more intelligent interest in the little-known people among whom he travelled, a much surer eye for picturesque detail and much less pompous interest in himself, so that when he is not writing about the natives or the jungle or the French officials or Gulla (a most entertaining person) or the crazy Poles and Turks who represent the tourist traffic, he can always find something amusing in his own situation, whether it be drinking Chianti out of a soapdish, or being in a runaway motor-lorry with a tame chimpanzee at the wheel. On the basis of this book one feels that only extroverts ought to be allowed to write travel books.

Gulla's purpose was to collect ethnological information but Mr. Carlin wisely leaves the writing of that to the specialist, his role was to scowl ferociously in the background while Gulla argued or gossiped with the natives, and in the book his views are still in the background. The only subject upon which he lets himself go is the administration, and those who would solve the colonial question by a universal system of mandates should ponder upon some of his observations. Granted a German and an Englishman, however objective, would hardly be enthusiastic about any French administration, yet some facts cited are too circumstantial and specific to have been invented, and if true, are a disgrace both to France and to Geneva, which in theory supervises the mandate. Mr. Carlin is far indeed from being Imperialistic yet he plainly thinks that the case, for example, of the petty official who obtained the post of dispenser for his black mistress in order to pocket the trifling salary attached to the job, and turned the lady loose among the natives with a dirty hypodermic and a bottle of coloured water, is the sort of thing that could not happen in British or German territory, and he is almost certainly right. As he says, British colonial officials are all cast in the same mould and are often ludicrous on that account. But the French have no mould, hence each individual acts entirely "au naturel". A French bourgeois, acting au naturel in the middle of Africa for the glory of "la patrie" and the League of Nations is not an attractive picture.

But this is stressing too much the only unpleasant

aspect of the book. As a well-written, alert and humorous picture of a little-known part of Africa, entirely free from technicalities or prejudices (except against administrators in pyjama jackets), Gulla, the Tramp, is a delightful book.

C. W. M. HART.

Comeback

THE PRETENDER: Lion Feuchtwanger; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 440; \$2.75.

LION FEUCHTWANGER'S latest novel, *The Pretender*, admirably translated by Willa and Edwin Muir, recovers the ground lost by *The Jew of Rome*. The period dealt with is roughly the same, the early years of the rule of the Flavian Emperors, and the theme of the interaction of West and East has certain similarities. But this time Mr. Feuchtwanger has followed the soundest rule of the historical romance, to take your events from history, and your characters from yourself.

It is known that some years after Nero's death a pretender claiming to be Nero arose in the East, found some support from the Parthian King, and soon collapsed. Exactly who or what he was, what he did, and what happened to him, is not known with any degree of certainty. The situation has obvious dramatic possibilities, involving as it does the renewal of the old conflict between East and West which Nero's enlightened policy had done much to assuage, a conflict further complicated in the Mesopotamian regions in which the scene of the book is laid, by the rising force of Christianity.

A number of historical characters enter into the book, but even of these many are so obscurely sketched in history that the novelist's creative gift has full scope. Mr. Feuchtwanger's archaeological knowledge sets and keeps the scene, but it is the freedom of his novelist's invention that peoples the scene so fully with interesting and convincing characters, and maintains the pace and dramatic complications of the action. For acute characterization, variety of incident, and sustained interest, this book deserves a high place in modern historical fiction.

L. A. MacKAY.

Murder With a Smile

DOUBLE CROSS PURPOSES: Ronald Knox; Musson (Hodder & Stoughton); pp. 314; \$2.00.

IF YOU MUST have a lot of shootings, however unmotivated, in your detective stories, and the uncovering of one damned corpse after another, then this is not high enough meat for your degraded palate. But if you can enjoy a mystery that is also literature, if you like a laugh in between shudders, and keep your eye for scenery even while looking for a clue, you will have to go a long way to find a more entertaining book than this. Father Knox is known as a writer of delicate prose and a humourist as well as a mystery monger. He will incidentally make you feel that you simply must spend your next holiday in the Scottish Highlands, that the people there are delightful and can hardly be held responsible for the antics of silly if well-born Englishmen and dubious Colonials. And he works out his puzzle honestly to a valid conclusion. He even tells you in a discreet footnote where he gave the clues. This method has a double advantage; if you saw it you feel delightfully superior and if you missed it you can check up

on the author without angrily turning back pages unending.

Beautiful surroundings, amusing people, with the author in the background hinting all the time what a funny world it all is, combine to make this first class entertainment—even if the Bredon couple do talk rather a lot and if (let me say it in a whisper) there is one flaw; if the guilty person had been roaming on the premises for so long, would he not have forced a show-down earlier, and on his own ground? But I may be wrong, there are certain reasons against it, and I advise you to read and find out for yourself. For it is an excellent yarn for a lazy summer day.

G. M. A. G.

Psychiatric History

THE MIND OF MAN: The story of man's conquest of mental illness; Walter Bromberg; Musson (Harper); \$4.00.

PROFESSIONAL psychiatrists occasionally make much ado about the advances in our knowledge of insanity. No doubt, when humanity stopped regarding insane persons as possessed of devils a great improvement occurred. The mechanistic interpretation of animal behaviour by Sherrington, Loeb, and Pavlov, and above all the effects on our supposed free-will of small doses of hormones have led to the erroneous contention that we know a great deal about mind and its workings. Would that it were true! The writer of this book gives an excellent, rational exposition of his subject until he comes to Freud and his teachings, at which point he bows down and worships! There is no psychologist but Freud and he is his own prophet. Psychoanalysts do not understand the meaning of a scientific control, and the glibness with which they speak of their technique as scientific (i.e. objective) bewilders a worker in the experimental sciences. "That which is true," says Oscar Wilde, "can sometimes be proven." The attempt by a critic to prove, using cunningly selected words, that psychoanalysis is an ingenious system of nonsense merely leads him to froth at the mouth and (in Shakespearean language) to call for his sword. Macbeth's requirements for the treatment of his hysterical (sleep-walking) wife are still valid:

Macbeth:

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased;
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
And, with some sweet oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff,
Which weighs upon the heart?

The doctor's reply is quite modern:

Therein the patient must minister to himself.

To minister to a mind diseased is somewhat specialized, perhaps requiring institutional care and continuous warm (sedative) baths. To pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow may be more difficult. ("It's all his fancy, that," said the Gryphon about the Mock Turtle, "He hasn't got no sorrow.") As to the administration of a sweet oblivious antidote, there are several schools of thought. Most psychiatrists agree that the partaking of phenobarbital, bromide, chloral, and opium has definite value in the treatment of mental illness.

In spite of this book's title, mental illness is still unconquered, and our treatment of it is perforce based on rational empiricism, as in the days of Hippocrates (who, be it noted, made skilled use of religious faith, much

as do Christian Science, and Roman Catholicism today). A raft is a raft is a raft. A mentally-ill patient clinging to a doctor, clings to him as a shipwrecked person to a raft—for lack of something better. The structure of rafts hasn't changed much in 3,000 years.

The important thing in favour of this book is that it gives an excellent historical outline of the subject. To buy it is a good way to spend \$4.00 if you don't enjoy a bottle of liquor (unless you have enough money to buy both).

J. MARKOWITZ.

Theology Up-to-Date

"TYPES OF MODERN THEOLOGY": Hugh Mackintosh; Nisbet, 1937; pp. vii, 333.

IN THIS BOOK the late Professor Mackintosh of Edinburgh has left an admirable survey of the development of Protestant theology from Schleiermacher to Karl Barth, including studies of the work of Hegelians, Ritechl, Troeltsch and Soren Kierkegaard. It is not always realized that this century was one of the most significant in the history of Christian thought; certainly the most important for Continental Protestantism since the Reformation. Theologians, charged with the task of interpreting and expounding the doctrines of the Church, were faced with the impact on Christianity of scientific naturalism, Hegelian idealism, the new methods of Biblical criticism, and finally, the great social upheavals that issued in war and revolution.

It is significant that the period begins with Schleiermacher's "theology of feeling"—a romantic reaction against the rather dry and complacent rationalism of the Eighteenth Century; and ends with Barth and the so-called "theology of Crisis", a reaction in its turn against the optimistic humanism of the Nineteenth Century, and the years before the war. For the ordinary reader—as distinct from the theological student — Professor Mackintosh's book deserves reading, if only for the reason that it brings out so clearly the sharp conflict that is developing within the churches at the present time. This conflict has nothing to do with the dismal old debate between "modernists" and "fundamentalists". The issue is rather between those for whom Christianity remains, for the time being, the highest expression of the human religious consciousness, an aspect of human culture, an important element in the social system: and, on the other hand, those for whom Christianity exists as a positive, independent, and indeed revolutionary force in the world, as much in opposition to a semi-Christian as to a frankly anti-Christian society. The former might find themselves quite comfortable in a "totalitarian" state, either of the Left or the Right. The latter would inevitably be faced with hostility or active persecution.

In the theological world, this profound difference of outlook shows itself in the conflict between the champions of the Hegelian tradition, and the followers of Karl Barth. In the world of practical politics, it is perhaps not unfair to see the same opposition between Reichsbischof Muller on the one hand, and Pastor Niemoller and his colleagues on the other.

W. LYNDON SMITH.

More Marx

MARX AND THE TRADE UNIONS: A. Lozovsky; Francis White (International Publ.); pp. 188; \$1.00.

Marx's views on trade unionism are scattered piecemeal throughout his entire work. Lozovsky has endeavored both to expound and to explain those views within some two hundred pages. For that reason alone, if for no other, his work is important.

Marx saw the origin of trade unionism in the efforts of workers to offset by collective action the utter futility of attempting to bargain as individuals. To him, however, the real importance of the movement was not a matter simply of wages, hours and conditions of work. He regarded the ultimate objective of trade unionism as the overthrow of the capitalist system itself. And he emphasized the necessity of political activity by organized trade unions have a dual function.

His disagreements with Proudhon, Bakunin and Lassalle on the trade union question are analyzed. His reformist critics are pumelled with gusto. And the part that he played in the early labor movements in Britain, France and the United States is outlined. All this is handled in a concise and vigorous manner.

It is when Lozovsky tackles the position of the trade union within the communist state that he runs into trouble (and so does the reader!). Here he is irritatingly vague, if not downright obfuscatory. He admits that neither Marx nor Lenin could forecast the role of the trade union in the reconstruction period but contends that Stalin has solved the problem. The reader wonders at the author's secrecy concerning that solution. Lozovsky's defense would be that in his preface he has promised that he will deal with the matter in two succeeding volumes. In spite of this weakness, the work is well worth reading. It is particularly timely in view of the recent resurrection of working class organizations in the United States and Canada.

LORNE T. MORGAN.

Dead End

THE LIMITS OF ECONOMICS: Oskar Morgenstern; Saunders (Hodge); pp. 160; \$2.00.

THE THESIS of Professor Morgenstern, professor at Vienna and director of the Austrian Institute for Trade Cycle Research, is that economic theory is neutral as to economic policy, that the economist can have and should have nothing to say about "ends or purposes". A considerable literature on this subject already exists, and since Professor Morgenstern, in order to make his book intelligent to the layman, leaves out all examination of economic theory, he can obviously not deepen the analysis but only give to a wider audience an attitude prevalent among many theorists. Accordingly the thesis of "neutral" economics is taken as the starting point, and after some denigration of any who maintain that their theory shows one set of economic policies to be more "correct" or "better" than another, the book is given over to a plea that governments, liberal or dictatorial, should make more use of economists, who will tell them how one policy conflicts with another and how better to attain the ends which the government wants. In this connection Dr. Morgenstern seems to believe that his Institute can play a larger role in present day Austria.

It should perhaps be pointed out that although Dr. Morgenstern would have the economist eschew all value judgments, he scatters throughout his book many very

The Canadian Forum

positive statements such as that high wages lead to unemployment (p. 53) or that protectionism leads to impoverishment and misery (p. 135). What is the practical difference between saying that your science proves such and such a policy to be bad and saying that your science shows only that the policy has certain effects, namely impoverishment and misery? Equally devoid of utility is Dr. Morgenstern's effort to put the public and governments on guard against "amateur economists". There can be no doubt, as he says, that they do a great deal of harm. But how are they to be known? Dr. Morgenstern tells us in essence no more than that they can be known because they commit numerous logical errors and delude the public. Since elsewhere he tells us that logically economic theory is itself in a bad way, his definition of amateur economics is something less than profound.

Indirectly Dr. Morgenstern's book throws some light on the role of the intellectual, and particularly of the social scientist, under a fascist dictatorship. Everyone must have wondered a little at the ease with which German intellectuals went down before Nazism, at the small opposition offered by the economists to Hitler's economic nonsense, and at the dominance of his racial theories in a country previously renowned for its enlightenment. The same problem exists for Italy. Austria, after having been for some years ruled by a sub-dictator of Mussolini, seems at the present time likely to have to admit Hitler too as an overlord. When Dr. Morgenstern, writing in that land of warring private armies, wants to give a concrete example of an 'authoritarian' government, he solemnly instances President Roosevelt's and the New Deal. In general, he minimizes the differences between dictatorships and democracies as to economic policies, even going so far as to say that theoretically a policy of *laissez-faire* competition is more suited to a dictatorship than to a democracy. In a section where he maintains that there has been no essential difference between the policies of dictatorial and democratic governments, Dr. Morgenstern apparently overlooks the fact that every fascist government's first economic act has been to suppress the trade unions.

V. F. COE

Facts and Facts

AN ATLAS OF EMPIRE: J. F. Horrabin; Ryerson (Gollancz); pp. 160; \$1.00.

THE NEW ECONOMIC REVOLUTION: Margaret Cole; I JOINED THE ARMY: Private X.Y.Z. (Frank Griffin);

SKELETON OF EMPIRE: Leonard Barnes; being the April, May and June numbers of FACT (six pence per copy or six shillings per year; 19 Garrick Street, London W.C.2, England.)

FACT is "a sixpenny monograph issued on the 15th of every month", that is, a small book of about one hundred pages dealing in the main with one subject and aiming to put before the public essential facts which are usually hidden or suppressed. Of these first three numbers, The New Economic Revolution is of a more general nature; it does not so much aim to present new facts, but rather to give the general socialist analysis of world forces in conflict, of the present position and the socialist remedy analysis of world forces familiar to thinking socialists, though they will also find some enlightenment if not very encouraging criticism of the Labour Party and the Trades Unions in England today. This is followed

by an article, Behind The Swing Doors, which exposes the appalling conditions of employment in English hotels.

It is with their second number that the editors' troubles began. I joined The Army is the story of a man who enlisted in the British Army in 1929, and of what he saw there. His revelations are startling even for those who are well aware that the army, especially in peace time, is hardly a school for the development of human personality. Unnecessary cruelty and unimaginative callousness to even physical needs seems to be rife; the account may be somewhat onesided and telescope into a small space the more unpleasant aspects of several years. But even so the facts can hardly be doubted and have been duly sworn to by the author, and we look forward to getting a fuller and perhaps more balanced account in the complete book which will appear in the fall (Secker and Warburg). Even as it stands however this tale has hit the Colonel Blimps hard: the printers refused to print and the distributors to distribute, probably of their own volition, and the editors had to carry on under great difficulties.

The third number, Skeleton Of Empire, will not make Fact more popular with the powers that be. Mr. Barnes' other writings show him to be writing with full knowledge, and he too has a vigorous style. "In the language of the racing stud, the Empire is by Power Politics out of Commercial Greed." His story of conditions in India should make every imperialist blush, even though the author does not seek to place the responsibility on individuals, and fully recognizes the selfless devotion of many an administrator. Further chapters deal with the Colonies, the Crown and Defence. The author concludes that "the Empire is British Capitalism: there is no distinction between the two; the Empire is not an annexe or footnote to the power of capital at home: it is just the form that power has assumed: it is therefore the main enemy of socialism . . . British workers cannot be free while the coloured workers of the Empire are in bondage." Let any reader who would reject that conclusion read this booklet first.

Altogether, Fact promises to be a most valuable collection of monographs. The announcements include numbers on what science could do for our comfort if capitalism could let it, on the films, on fiction, on methods of propaganda, etc. . . The editors are Leonard Barnes, Margaret Cole, George Lansbury, Storm Jameson, Rudolf Messel, Arthur Calder-Marshall, Francis Meynell, Stephen Spender, Raymond Postage is General Editor.

And speaking of facts, Mr. Horrabin's Atlas of Empire is another most useful collection of them. Like his previous Atlases of European History and of Current Affairs it is most conveniently arranged: a series of maps, one on every other page, faced by a short factual and historical paragraph. These include maps of all the possessions throughout the world of all imperialist countries. Lucid and graphic, the little book as a whole gives one an excellent picture of the complicated geographical inter-twinnings of colonial relations. It is essentially a book to keep by one, as reference to it (facilitated by a good index) will enable its possessor to follow all imperial international events intelligently and to grasp the possible geographical detail. We can at least insure that we shall have it available on our shelves to refer to when necessary.

G. M. A. GRUBE.

Stupidity

PRISONS FROM WITHIN: Richmond Harvey; Nelson (Allen & Unwin); pp. 237; \$2.50.

The stupidity of the English prison system is equalled only by the mediocrity of the author: A tale of imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubbs, a jail for the first offenders, should provide fascinating reading, but unfortunately this book does not. The style is a dull heavy prosiness while the subject matter is so badly handled that it becomes boring. Beside Macartney's "Walls Have Mouths" this book is pale and ineffectual, though Wormwood Scrubbs seems a pleasant place when compared with other English penal institutions. Both Macartney and Harvey discuss and relate the reading tastes of their fellow prisoners but where Macartney's account is alive and fascinating, Harvey's bears the stamp of his whole book—a dull insipid mediocrity. This book contributes nothing new to prison literature and its only justification is the possibility that it may appeal to prison officials and thus do some good.

M. F.

Monastic Mischief

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS:
Edited and translated by H. E. Butler; Nelson (Cape);
pp. 368; index; \$4.50.

PROFESSOR BUTLER has undoubtedly amused himself and now proceeds to amuse readers of English, by assembling from various works, arranging in chronological order, and translating, the life story of one of the most vivid, frank, vain, able, and impetuous characters of twelfth century England, or rather Wales. Giraldus was connected on his mother's side with the Princes of South Wales, on his Norman father's side with the Geraldines who played such a large part in the conquest of Ireland.

Destined from early youth to the Church, he devoted his whole life to the unsuccessful attempt to secure the Bishopric of St. David's for himself, and raise it to Metropolitan dignity. Three times he almost achieved his ambition, but either the danger of exalting one so closely connected with the still imperfectly subdued Princes of Wales, or his hot temper and passion for excommunicating opponents, or his importunate zeal for ecclesiastical reform, stood in his way. He became Archdeacon before the age of thirty, and died almost eighty years old, still Archdeacon. Other bishoprics, in England and Ireland, were offered him, but not the one on which he had set his heart. He would have St. David's, and make it independent of Canterbury, or he would have nothing.

So the time that might have been dissipated in administrative duties was given to writing: history, geography, invective, self-justification. Whatever his faults as an historian—and he wrote mainly popular history for laymen—it is to him that we owe most of what we do know about the early geography of Ireland and Wales, and the history of the invasion of Ireland. But in these selections we have the man himself—a remarkably vivid picture of a man utterly fearless, thoroughly confident of his own great gifts and obstinately sure of the justice of any cause he undertook, with an inexhaustible interest in every aspect of life, and a keen eye for a good story, especially at the expense of one of his numerous enemies.

I. A. M.

An Appeal

CHATHAM HOUSE: Stephen King-Hall; Oxford University Press; pp. 144; \$1.50.

THIS LITTLE BOOK is published primarily as an appeal for financial support. The Royal Institute of International Affairs which has its headquarters in Chatham House was founded immediately after the war by a group of men who had worked together during the peace conference and who felt that the British public needed a body for the scientific objective study of international relations and for the dissemination of reliable unemotional information on the subject. Affiliated Institutes have since been founded in the Dominions and in India. The publications of Chatham House have abundantly justified its existence. Its varied activities require a larger budget than is at present available, and Commander King-Hall is chairman of a committee which is appealing for contributions to an endowment fund. We in North America have considerably more experience than they have in England of institutions supported by wealthy corporations and individuals, and we can remark to Commander King-Hall that his belief in the complete objectivity and independence of such an institution is naive. (He tells us that the appointment of the Prince of Wales as visitor ensured that the Institute could never be perverted to party or propaganda purposes). One notes the scarcity of Labour men and socialists in positions of importance in the R.I.A. However, the work that it is doing is so valuable that it would be unfair to stress this criticism unduly, and we wish Commander King-Hall success in his mission.

F.H.U.

Canadian-American Arbitration

THE SETTLEMENT OF CANADIAN-AMERICAN DISPUTES: P. E. Corbett; Ryerson Press; pp. 134; \$2.75.

THIS is one of the series of Carnegie Endowment studies which are now commencing publication, under the general editorship of Professor J. T. Shotwell, on the subject of Canadian-American relations. Professor Corbett gives a concise review of all the diplomatic difficulties between the two countries which have been settled by arbitral methods. His analysis appears to achieve as complete objectivity as is possible, and in this respect it is a model. But it is so brief that of necessity most of the political background of each dispute has to be omitted. The success of the two countries in avoiding war is even more remarkable when light is thrown on the complex political situation on various occasions; the credit, for example, of the peaceful agreement at Washington in 1871 is all the higher when all the forces making for animosity and trouble are set forth in detail. Professor Corbett pleads for an "all-in" arbitration treaty between the two countries which, by providing machinery to deal with all future disputes, would ensure the continuance of good neighbourhood. This is clearly a sensible idea, and in the present condition of the world such a treaty should even be spectacular enough to appeal to those shrewd politician-idealists, Messrs. Roosevelt and King.

F.H.U.

Canned Goods

WE AREN'T SO DUMB: Christopher Hollis; Longman's Green; pp. 190; \$2.00.

There is something very English about this book, which discourses on Japs and Jews and cotton and colonies with complete empiricism and unimpaired cheerfulness. Mr. Hollis has managed to rescue large amounts of important statistics on things like raw materials and population curves and foreign investments from blue books where they are never read, and has thrown them into a chatty dialogue form in which they can and will be read. The result is a compilation informative, surprising in its revelations, amusing and also entirely devoid of first principles. Having been read, it serves to convey the impression that the world is a very large and complicated place with several points of view in it. "Bobby," "Algernon" and various foreigners and experts discourse with facile intelligence on the problems which underlie the world's news. They are less successful when they tackle deeper matters of political philosophy, as the following specimen will show: "Russia came first and went communist because nobody had thought of fascism then." However, one can more easily forgive a book for purveying occasional nonsense when there is so little of it. I found the section on colonial claims most informative, and that on Ireland most amusing.

E.A.H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not in any way preclude review in a subsequent number.)

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL IN THE NON-FERROUS METALS: W. Y. Elliot, E. S. May, J. W. F. Rowe, Alex Skelton and Donald Wallace; Macmillan; pp. 801; \$6.50.

WHITE MULE: William Carlos Williams New Directions (Conn.); pp. 293; \$2.50.

BRIEF FLOWER OF YOUTH: Graham Heath; Longmans; pp. 302; \$2.50.

THE MIND IN CHAINS: C. Day Lewis; Saunders (Muller); pp. 256; \$1.75.

PEACE OR WAR: Ed. Harold S. Quigley; University of Minnesota Press; pp. 206; 50c.

THE MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH: L. B. Pekin; Longmans; pp. 53; 50c.

STAR BEGOTTEN: H. G. Wells; Macmillan (Viking); pp. 217; \$2.00.

ECONOMIC PLANNING AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER: Lionel Robbins; Macmillan; pp. 230; \$2.75.

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN A SOCIALIST STATE: R. L. Hall; Macmillan; pp. 263; \$2.50.

SMALL TALK: Harold Nicholson; Macmillan (Constable); pp. 248; \$1.75.

A CONFLICT OF EUROPEAN AND EASTERN ALGONQUIN CULTURE: A. G. Bailey; New Brunswick Museum, St. John; pp. 206.

INFORMATION BULLETIN of Council of International Affairs, Nanking; Vol. 111, No. 2, Economic Conditions in China 1936; No. 12, Aviation in China; Vol. IV, No. 1, Development of Modern Chinese Press.

The Canadian Forum offers a prize of \$10.00 and a second prize of \$5.00 for the best and the next best poem, submitted in the poetry contest.

Rules:

1. There are no restrictions on the poetic form eligible except that a minimum of fourteen lines and a maximum of one hundred lines has been set.
2. Manuscripts must be typed (double spaced) on one side only of the paper. The author's name must not appear on the manuscript, but must be enclosed in a sealed envelope bearing on the outside the title of the story only. Return postage must be enclosed.
3. Poems must reach "Poetry Contest Editor, The Canadian Forum, 28 Wellington Street West, Toronto, Canada", on or before Sept. 15th, 1937.
4. The Editor may publish in The Canadian Forum any poem submitted, without remuneration. Those considered unsuitable for this purpose will be returned within one month of the date on which the award is announced.
5. Members of the Editorial Board and Staff of The Canadian Forum will not be eligible for this contest.

The names of the Judges will be announced in the next issue.

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